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CHINESE MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS
AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN CHINA,
1956-1971

W. W. Whitson

RAND Corporation

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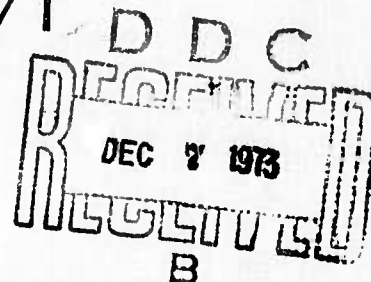
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10. ABSTRACT Analyzes Chinese politics in terms of competition among elite interest groups, or factions of the leadership. Power shifts are deduced from personnel shifts in governing positions. Individuals holding the 1400 most powerful positions in China (400 military, 1000 civil) during four specific periods were compared by field army affiliation, geographic region, Korean War participation, service branch/Ministry, function, and Party generation. (Detailed breakdowns by George Sung are appended.) More than 90% joined the Party before 1941. The pre-1928 elders predominate in civil posts, and the second generation (June 1928-November 1931 entry) in military slots. Changes from late 1971 to October 1972 accentuated this generational difference: Predominantly older generals and younger Party secretaries disappeared. Despite analysts' theories of civil/military conflict, 40% of top civilian jobs were held by military men in 1971, slightly fewer in 1972. Regionalism gained strength, while field army factions lost. The outcome of China's authority crisis remains in doubt.		11. KEY WORDS CHINA MILITARY ORGANIZATION	

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PREFACE

This Report is part of Rand's ongoing program of research relating to various aspects of political and military developments in the People's Republic of China. The present study was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of State, with additional support from The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency in the Department of Defense.

The author is indebted to Dr. George Sung for the unique statistical compilations, derived from the biographies and careers of 400 military and 1,000 civilian Chinese leaders, which constitute the Appendixes. These form the basis for many of the author's numerous charts throughout the text. The analyses ought to serve future researchers as valuable raw data in their own explorations of other facets of the Chinese scene. The study is being made available, therefore, not only to the sponsoring agencies but also to others whose interest is focused on China today.

SUMMARY

This study focuses on alternative ways of *defining* Chinese interest groups, and on *describing* their behavior. It covers the period from 1956 to late 1971.

For our purposes, an "elite interest group" is a group of leaders whose sense of corporate loyalty and collective behavior is influenced *primarily* by certain shared affiliations and goals. Such a group need not have a formal organizational structure; indeed, its members may be leaders of different organizations, and yet be moved by common interests and values to respond to crises as a collectivity. In this study, the terms "elite interest group" and "faction" are used interchangeably.

The study assumes the existence of interest groups engaged in a competition for power on China's domestic stage. Research and analysis must identify and evaluate indicators of the existence and behavior of such interest groups, lest scholars, policymakers, and strategists be condemned to wander through the jungles of conflicting Chinese political signals among which to detect or select isolated "cases" and "scenarios" to substantiate their hunches.

Our premise has been that formal position in China's military and civil hierarchies reflects political power, and that approximately 1,400 positions (400 military, 1,000 civilian) reflect the most significant political power distribution, formal *and* informal. One problem was for the researcher to determine time periods when occupancy of those positions was relatively stable. Another was to analyze each incumbent's career for indicators of his possible affiliation with corporate or interest groups. A third problem was to collate those indicators in a way that would make them generally useful in revealing the existence of an interest group or faction.

With respect to the first problem, four time periods were selected for analysis of key positions. The first (1956-1958) was the climax of the influence of Minister of Defense P'eng Te-huai, who had led the People's Liberation Army (PLA) for most of its campaigns in Korea and

fostered the modernization of the armed forces under the auspices and on the model of the Soviet Union. With the return of leaders and units from Korea, the domestic tumult of the war period had subsided enough to permit the holding of the Eighth Party Congress in September 1958. Temporary compromise had been reached over many of the controversies that had previously attended personnel assignments, crisis management, and domestic and foreign policies. The 1956-1958 distribution of power among assumed interest groups, therefore, was chosen as the base from which later changes were to be measured.

The second period examined was 1965-1966. During the eight years since 1958, the purge of P'eng Te-huai, the Great Leap experiment in economic development, the Socialist Education Campaign, and the Learn from the PLA Campaign reflected great turmoil over policies and administrative pace and style. Personnel changes were one means by which contending interest groups could measure their defeat or victory over issues in bureaucratic controversy. Yet in late 1965, the failure of the domestic Chinese political conflict system to permit full sway to the personal preferences of Mao Tse-tung generated a new upheaval, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Before the GPCR could lead to a new round of personnel appointments, however, the calm before the storm affords the opportunity for comparing the hierarchy of that moment with the base period.

The third period for elite analysis follows the ending of the GPCR and the time immediately after the Ninth Party Congress, in April 1969. Although the congress was a compromise slate of political leaders, it clearly reflected an entire set of working compromises on the issues that had recently ravaged the bureaucracy. Personnel shifts that had taken place during the GPCR, therefore, remained temporarily fixed, so as to permit leaders of contending interest groups to assess their political status before the next round of material and human resource allocations.

By the late summer of 1971, the 1969 compromise had all but collapsed, and active contention resulted in personnel changes that, in September, culminated in the removal of Defense Minister (and heir apparent to Mao) Lin Biao. Although this study plots the shifts as of

the summer of 1971, later data having proved too unreliable, the year 1971 did not present the kind of calm and stability most suitable for comparison with 1969.

With respect to the second problem, identification of salient indicators of possible corporate or interest-group affiliation through analysis of individual careers, we ruled out those depending on data that were hard to obtain or ambiguous, and treated with circumspection data that related primarily to broad attitude patterns or abstract ideological affiliations. In our search for interest-group existence and behavior, we felt more confident of indicators pointing to corporate or personal loyalty, that is, to a Chinese leader's affiliation with either a personality or an organization. We were careful to distinguish among and appreciate the special uses as well as limitations of various categories of data: those most relevant to local interest groups, attitudes, and values; those pertaining to central or national interest groups; those that may have long-term relevance to interest-group affiliation and behavior; and those that may be sensitive only to immediate and short-term issues and serve essential short-term predictions.

The personnel shifts among the 1,400 positions covered have been examined primarily in terms of factors characterized by data which (1) are available and relatively specific; (2) suggest loyalty primarily to a corporate group and secondarily to a personality; (3) are mainly suggestive of local loyalties; (4) have long-term significance for interest-group behavior. The indicators of Party or military position, field-army affiliation, military-regional affiliation, Korean War participation, ministry or service affiliation, professional function (commander versus commissar), and generational affiliation meet at least three of those characteristics.

The problem of collating the data for purposes of identifying interest groups was simplified by earlier studies and also by the fact that personnel assignments in 1956-1958 still reflected long- and near-term political-military history. Among alternative concepts of possible interest-group behavior, the four examined were those of the field-army faction; the military-regional faction; the functional

(civil-military, commander-commissar) faction; and the generational faction. While these factions shared elements of possible corporate loyalty, each focused on a special ingredient, namely (in the foregoing order): shared pre-1954 history; post-1954 geographic localism; bureaucratic involvement; and a generation's community of experience.

FIELD-ARMY FACTIONS

Prior to 1956, the 1,400 senior Chinese civil and military leaders studied had pursued careers with a single characteristic; hardly 15 percent of the high command had served in more than one institutional stream.* That is, the five field armies that defeated the Nationalists between 1945 and 1949 had undergone essentially separate developments over the previous twenty years, and this was bound to result in strong ties of shared victories and defeats among their respective members, a camaraderie that persisted after the civil war.

Any analysis of civil and military factional behavior since 1954 must start from the historical fact that the Communist conquest of China had forced the once mobile field-army factions to turn to the tasks of local administration between 1950 and 1958, and that, in assuming civil roles in local government and Communist Party positions, many military men unquestionably modified their earlier perspectives of commanders or commissars concerned with combat. But they continued to work closely with former comrades and, as we shall see, tended to surround and replace themselves from the ranks of their old field-army factions.

Our study examines the power status of each field-army faction from 1956 to 1971 on the basis of the pre-1950 careers, and probable field-army affiliation and loyalty, of 1,400 Party, government, and military officials. and on the assumption that each man tends to "vote" according to the collective preference of his faction. Even if, as often happens, a man simultaneously occupies two or three positions -- Party, government, and military -- in the same province, we have credited each position with the factional background of the incumbent,

* See Chart A, p. 16, for the evolution of field armies.

and have taken the combined strength of the incumbents in all positions as a measure of factional representation.

In the thirteen years studied, the domestic political process in China appears as a "five-faction" political system in transition to a multiregional system.* In 1950, each faction had consisted of *both* civil and military figures who had served together in the institutional stream of a single field army. As each field-army faction acquired a geographic base (see map on p. 18) and resources with which to compete for influence and power in the areas dominated by other factions and at the Center, the power of the factions shifted, as reflected in their changing representation in key civil and military positions.

While an interfactional balance was observable until 1958, the period 1959-1966, after Lin Piao became defense minister, brought subtle changes, mostly in key military posts. The pace of change increased dramatically between 1966 and 1971, when the purge of Lin Piao brought an end to one major era of political conflict and started a new one.

The early beneficiary of these shifts was the Fourth Field Army faction, led by Lin Piao, which installed its representatives in other factional base areas. At the Center, Lin's associates succeeded in increasing their representation in key *military* posts from 24 percent in 1956 to about 40 percent by mid-1971, though in the *civil* sphere, despite their efforts, the balance among the five factions remained about the same in that period. Outside of the Center, Lin's faction, after he became defense minister, concentrated its political offensive on the border regions, at the expense mainly of the First and Second Field Army factions.

The Fifth Field Army faction, despite its sophistication and central position in Peking, also lost power to the Fourth (and others) between 1956-1958 and 1971, although no other faction actually achieved dominance at the Center.

While the First, Second, and Fifth factions were struggling to maintain themselves in their own power bases, the powerful Third was

* See Chart A (p. 16) and the map on p. 18 of the text for the military regions and political base areas occupied by each field army in 1954.

vying successfully with the Fourth for representatives and allies in key jobs. The Fourth, geographically split between northeast and southeast, probably suffered from the pervasive effects of a growing regionalism. Except for the period of the Cultural Revolution, when the Fourth generally made great political strides, its initially strong hold on military and civil posts in the Shenyang and Canton military regions declined steadily, sapped in part by the need to dispatch reliable members to new posts in adversary regions, whereas the Third succeeded in maintaining its hold over its own power base both during and after the tumultuous years of the Cultural Revolution, and seemed satisfied to consolidate its strength there without trying to expand its power into other regions.*

Our data also reveal that the growth of factionalism affected not only civilian (Party and government) interest groups but also the military, often thought to have been unhesitatingly loyal to the Center. A related phenomenon discussed in the present study is the rising percentage of "unknowns" -- men in power whose background data precludes reasoned judgments about field-army and other affiliations.

MILITARY-REGIONAL FACTIONS

With the reorganization of the PLA after the Korean War, all large organizations formerly labeled "field armies" were deactivated. The three-division "army" (*chün*) became the principal operational command for the ground forces, directly under the control of a military-regional headquarters, and air force and navy units were organized under the local operational control of air defense districts and three major fleet headquarters. Between military regions, air defense districts, and fleet headquarters on the one hand and the General Staff in Peking on the other, there were no intervening levels of military bureaucracy. After the Cultural Revolution, the original thirteen military regions were reduced to eleven, whose increasing power over human and material resource allocations at provincial and local levels made each a *political* entity as well as a military center.

* See Chart U, p. 112, of this Report, for the distribution of power among field-army parties between 1966 and 1971.

In the emerging regional loyalty system, many of the leaders obviously derived some of their common, regionally oriented values from shared experiences in the field army. In the overlapping relationships of the two systems (field-army and military-regional), members of the military-regional civil-military factions, though today more deeply committed to local interests, retain some sense of obligation to older informal field-army loyalty systems, whose concerns are less narrowly geographic but more geared to interregional and national issues.

In assessing the efforts of military-regional factions to maintain their power "at home" and defend key political positions against "Outsiders," we have defined an "Outsider" as any key leader who was appointed to the post under examination less than two "generations" before. Since the concept of a political-military generation in China is related to political crisis periods, an "Insider" would be someone who was appointed to a military region during one crisis period, survived the next, and remained in that military region in the third. A measure of a military-regional faction's strength would thus be its ability to resist Outsider interference and appointments. Furthermore, as the focus of loyalties shifts from field army to military region, especially among the younger military, even officers from several different field-army systems may qualify as Insiders if they stay in one military long enough.*

Our data suggest that the *civil* bureaucracy in the military regions generally has been more successful than the military in defending itself against Outsiders. (In the Sinkiang, Kunming, and Wuhan military regions, in particular, repeated invasion by Outsiders during the Cultural Revolution apparently succeeded in seriously eroding the military's traditional status as local interest groups.)

It is the notion of a field-army faction's center of power that provides the geographic bridge between the two loyalty systems. Between 1950 and 1960, each field army gained dominance over the province or provinces with the greatest wealth and the largest population of those it occupied during and after the civil war. After 1960, several military regions and

* See Chart V, p. 114, for the status of Insiders versus Outsiders in each military region and at the Center in late 1971.

provinces became cockpits of political and even military conflict, in which personnel shifts displayed wide swings between Insiders and Outsiders, the resultant instability being greatest in those "marginal" areas that from the outset were too poor or too divided to be able to resist Outsider invasion, whereas Insiders were responsible for the majority of the significant political losses and gains in the stable ("core") military regions. At the Center, i.e., on the Central Committee and the State Council, key posts changed hands most frequently, especially after the Cultural Revolution, with replacements coming largely from Outsiders, so that by 1971 Insiders had control of only a minority of both civil and military positions.

Our data suggest that the stability of leadership *within* key military regions reflected the emergence of a new loyalty system based on regional leaders powerful enough to offer their subordinates reliable careers, leaving Party and government leaders at the Center in the position of power brokers that negotiate elite shifts through compromise, arbitration, even coercion, but remain dependent on the support of the shifting network of regional allies for effective central policies. While field-army factional ties, in view of many shared values and experiences, remain a continuing basis for common and mutual interest, their significance would appear to be waning as the older generation makes way for younger men with increasing experience in local and regional key posts.

GENERATIONAL FACTIONS

The generational division in China's internal politics has been analyzed according to a definition of "generations" unique to the historical and political circumstances that have formed China's leaders, by which the "first" generation is composed of those who entered the Party or the PLA before May 1928, and the "sixth" (and last of interest to the discussion) joined between September 1945 and October 1950. Chart W, p. 117 of the text, reflects the status of those six generations in China's military and civil bureaucracies at the Center and in eleven military regions as of 1971. At the Center the aging first-generation leaders still predominate in civil posts, but second-generation leaders

are the single largest group in military positions, while third-generation representatives occupy a surprisingly low percentage even in key military posts. The picture is different in the military regions. In the strongholds of the Fourth Field Army, the assumption of power by the younger generations (led by the third) is striking; by contrast, in regions where the Fourth had failed to make an impact, especially during the Cultural Revolution, the second generation remains dominant. The significance of the generational data relates, of course, to the major question of "succession" -- an issue not only for palace politics but, more broadly, for the viewpoints that different candidates bring to such vital matters as nuclear weapons, threat priorities, and the order of resource allocations. Our data suggest that the Third Field Army faction (probably supported by and supporting Chou En-lai) disagrees with the Fourth on the pace of generational advancement. Given the ascendancy of the former, especially since the death of Lin Piao in late 1971, the second generation, rather than the younger leaders favored by the Fourth Field Army faction, is likely to go on exercising its considerable influence for some time.

CIVIL-MILITARY FACTIONS

China analysts tend to assume that a clear political division exists between civil and military leaders, and that "the military" somehow seeks to gain and maintain the ascendancy over "the civilians." The present analysis shows not only that the military is as vulnerable to factionalism as the civil polity, but that, in fact, civil-military *unity* at the regional level has had a more significant impact on internal politics than has civil-military *conflict* at the national level.

Chart T (pp. 101-105) portrays the shifts in civil-bureaucratic power between military and civilians over the period under study. As of 1971, the most striking fact was that about 40 percent of all key civil posts were in the hands of professional military men in all but four military regions, in contrast to their insignificant share in 1956-1958, a tribute to the success of Lin Piao's effort, after 1960, to pack certain elite groups with military men. Chart T further reveals the growing presence of

commanders (as against commissars) in civil roles -- a displacement of the political by the professional that by 1971 was even more dramatically evident in the military sphere.

TRENDS IN LATE 1972

Employing the concepts of factional allegiance and behavior in China's domestic political process that have been developed in this study, we conclude by examining the statistics available as of late October 1972 for what they may tell us about domestic political problems and trends.

The outcome of China's authority crisis seems still in doubt. The accession of younger men to key civil and military posts might hasten its resolution, for it would relieve the frustration of the younger generation at the same time that it would remove some of the older leaders, with their highly personal style of local and regional politics, thus making room for the more central orientation of the class of young technocrats that Lin Piao and his Fourth Field Army faction had hoped to promote. Within the military, such a trend toward youth may be under way: Of sixty-one leaders that disappeared between May 1971 and October 1972, the vast majority were from the three oldest generations. The situation seems somewhat different in the civil sphere, however, where twenty-six (71 percent) of the thirty-five Party secretaries (out of a total number of 158) who had disappeared by April 1972 were drawn from the third and younger generations. This disparity suggests the possibility of a growing generation gap between civil and military leaders.

The political process since 1971 seems to have been marked by the purge or punishment of Fourth Field Army factional representatives, and, more broadly, to have been directed against the field-army factional system itself. At the Center, 45 percent of the thirty senior military leaders who disappeared between the purge of Lin Piao and October 1972 were drawn from the Fourth Field Army faction. None was from the Third Field Army faction; a total of 22 percent were from the First, Second, and Fifth; and 29 percent of the disappearances were from the "unknown" column. In the provinces and military regions, given a total of thirty

disappearances, 10 percent were from the Second, 17 percent from the Third, 23 percent from the Fourth Field Army faction, and 43 percent were "unknown." In the civil sphere, the majority of the 35 disappearances occurred among the Second (17 percent), Third (23 percent) and Fourth (32 percent) factions.

Simultaneously with the erosion of the field-army loyalty system we note a deepening of regionalism, as reflected in the apparent dominance of Insiders. In the civil domain in 1971, only twenty-eight of the 158 Party secretaryships were occupied by Outsiders. By April 1972, eleven of those twenty-eight (40 percent) had disappeared.

As for military disappearances, the great majority occurred among members of four military-regional affiliations: the Canton faction (of which four leaders disappeared at the Center and five in the provinces); the Nanking faction (of which none disappeared at the Center and five in the region); the Shenyang faction (of which two disappeared at the Center and two in the region); and the Wuhan faction (of which one disappeared at the Center and four in the region). Of the total of sixty-one military leaders who disappeared between May 1971 and October 1972 (about half of them from the Center and half from the regions), eighteen were of unknown military-regional affiliation, while twelve had been involved in Central politics too long to be tarred with a regional brush.

As in the past, Insiders accounted for the larger share (54 percent) of political action. However, the abovementioned small number of Outsiders among the 158 Party secretaries tends to confirm a deepening trend toward regionalism in the hiring and firing of civil leaders.

It is this trend, combined with the civil-military dichotomy, that deserves our final comment. As of April 1972, 71 percent of the secretaries removed from their civil posts belonged to the ranks of military. When the 158 Party secretaryships were first filled, ninety-seven of them were occupied by professional military men. The disappearance of twenty-five of these men (as contrasted with the removal of only eight of the sixty-one civilians) thus suggests a renewed trend toward the displacement of professional military by civil leaders in these political roles.

Most of those civil leaders still belong to the "Long Marchers," and their advanced age, therefore, would stand in contrast to the new emphasis on younger military leaders, whose commitment to the modernization of military technology might logically be accompanied by a corresponding commitment to the central administration of a better integrated, national military economy.

In the context of the succession question, which now consumes the interest of observers and participants alike, can Chou En-lai succeed in replacing the current generation of *older military* leaders in civil roles with *younger civilian* leaders? Furthermore, can he reverse the trend toward regionalism, perhaps by merely displacing age with youth? In his apparent alliance with senior civil and military leaders of the Third Field Army faction (and probably supported also by leaders of the Second), will Chou be able to put together an effective *federal* system for China's domestic political process?

Chou's strategy -- and one hardly unique in China's long history -- may be to capture the loyalty of young military commanders (as against the commissars he has long disdained) while paying homage for a while to the age of his contemporaries in the civil bureaucracy. If so, however, he will depend at least temporarily on the support of the most powerful military-regional commanders: Ch'en Hsi-lien in Shenyang; Hsü Shih-yu in Nanking; Ting Sheng in Canton. He will also have to look abroad for assistance, and trade and technology transfer from advanced foreign economies may, in turn, be crucial to his winning the support (by persuasion or coercion) of his aging allies and adversaries at the regional level, their representatives at the Center, and their youthful successors. There would seem to be little time for resolving all questions of pace, rewards, and punishments. Personnel changes must therefore remain swift, as Chou stages his last great political campaign, no doubt punctuated by many references to the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Journalists, scholars, and government officials have devoted millions of words and man-hours to the problem of analyzing political conflict in China since 1949. At the core of all such analyses is the attempt to explain the distribution of "power" in terms of the allocation of human as well as material resources.

By examining certain characteristics of such resource allocations, we believe that it is possible to explain and perhaps predict the policy decisions of contending interest groups in the Chinese leadership. Within the Rand China program, several reports will address themselves to the study of *material resources*, especially military resources, the characteristics of which should provide indicators not only of tactical and strategic doctrine, decisions about "guns versus butter," and the like, but also of probable defeat or victory for the competing factions.

The present study accents the *human resources*, focusing on approximately 1,400 members of the leadership, whose background and careers should provide indicators of mutual antagonism or agreement as the basis for interest-group behavior. Detailed description of interest-group behavior is not the purpose here. Rather, the Report aims at the more fundamental task of *identifying* such groups on the basis of one aspect of such behavior: personnel shifts among high-ranking civil and military leaders.

What do we mean by an "elite interest group"? Simply stated, we mean a group of leaders whose collective behavior is influenced *primarily* by certain shared affiliations and interests. In Section II, indicators of salient interests will be discussed in more detail. It is important to note, however, that an elite interest group does not necessarily have a formalized organizational structure. Indeed, its members may be leaders of different organizations and yet be so deeply influenced by common interests and goals as to respond to crises as a collectivity. An interest group, in our definition, is thus presumed to be driven by a corporate loyalty to shared values and goals. For

our purposes, "elite interest group" and "faction" will be used interchangeably.

In part, while this study assumes that such groups exist, one of its objectives is to adduce persuasive data indicating common values and goals. In other words, on the hypothesis that interest groups are engaged in mutual competition for power on China's domestic stage, the problem for research and analysis is to identify and evaluate indicators of the existence of such interest groups. Without such indicators, Western policymakers and strategists are condemned to wander through a jungle of competing Chinese political signals, from which they can only select isolated "cases" and "scenarios" to prove flat assertions about corporate affiliations in domestic Chinese political behavior.

What observable factors are most useful in describing and predicting distribution of power among competing elites within China? It goes without saying that we are entering treacherous territory when we set out to examine indicators of interest-group affiliation to explain or predict Chinese domestic political behavior, even though we are focusing on only a small number of leaders.

A certain skepticism about political prediction notwithstanding, we must attempt to evaluate the utility of a range of indicators of interest-group behavior among the Chinese elite. In the first instance, it is clear that indicators, to be useful, must rely on available unambiguous data. To the extent that the data are ambiguous or difficult to obtain, our judgments are suspect.

Next, we must be highly skeptical of data that relate primarily to broad attitude patterns or abstract ideological affiliations. We may acquire a certain intuition about such data and their relevance to specific interest groups; but the history of political behavior in China in the twentieth century does not provide evidence of unmistakable *ideological* motivation, especially where crucial issues of the pace and style of social change are concerned. This point will be discussed at greater length below.

In the absence of such indicators of loyalty to abstractions, we may feel more confident about data related to corporate or personal

affiliations and loyalties. That is to say, such information as will help identify a Chinese leader's affiliation either with a personality or with an organization is apt to be useful to our discovery of interest group-existence and behavior.

Some data are more relevant to local interest groups -- their attitudes and values -- than to central or national interest groups; data classification may therefore be based on relevance to geographic area. This is not to say that information on local authority is more or less useful than that on central authority. But the limitations of each should be appreciated in the context of a search for data that are neither too precise nor too broad -- the measure of the utility of all data categories.

One set of data may have long-term relevance to the question of loyalties, motivations, and interest-group affiliation and behavior. Another may be very time-specific, sensitive only to immediate issues, yet it may be useful, indeed essential, for short-term predictions within the context of trends established by materials with long-term implications.

Finally, certain categories of data about interest groups may have such mutual relevance that they may be placed in a single analytical model or approach to the evaluation of internal political behavior. To underscore such linkages among indicators, this study will first describe the six major schools of analysis normally employed in evaluating political behavior in China. Typical conclusions that analysts have drawn from the use of one or more factors will be cited. Following this survey of prevalent analytical models, Section III will summarize personnel shifts among approximately 1,400 civil and military leaders who held high office at four different periods in post-1950 China: during 1956-1958, the relatively stable period following the Eighth Central Committee; during the stable pre-Cultural Revolution period 1965-1966; in 1969, the time of appointments to the new Ninth Central Committee; and in 1971-1972, during and immediately following the purge of Lin Biao. Based on these data, Section IV will draw conclusions about (1) the "best" ways of perceiving the existence of interest groups in China between 1956 and 1972; (2) some tentative inferences from these findings

for explaining or predicting Chinese political behavior; and (3) other fields of research whereby both the existence and the behavior patterns of Chinese interest groups might be further clarified.

II. THE STUDY OF POLITICAL CONFLICT IN CHINA

This Section will describe six major schools of analysis, together with typical conclusions drawn by some of the best-known China specialists of the 1960s.^{1*} For each school, we shall identify and briefly discuss the indicator or indicators of interest-group existence that will be employed in Section III to evaluate elite careers. The reader is advised to refer to Chart B (p. 21), which summarizes all indicators associated with all six schools of analysis. We shall define each school of analysis in terms of four criteria:

1. The central issues of conflict which, in the view of the analyst, must be the focus of our perceptions and interpretations of all other factors.
2. The principal "actors" engaged in a debate over those issues.
3. The "stage" on which the theorist believes the action to be taking place.
4. The "plot," that is, the time frame, the scenario, and the trendlines which seem to explain what the actors have been doing in the past, and are likely to do in the future, to resolve key issues.

All but one school focus on the primacy of *domestic* ingredients in Chinese political conflict and political decision. We will therefore begin with the single exception, the school that typically explains domestic political conflict in terms of concern for external issues.

THE STRATEGIC-INTERACTION SCHOOL

The central issue in this theoretical approach to China is China's struggle for great-power status. Associated with it has been the problem of identifying China's *primary* enemy. This school argues from the premise that, humiliated in the nineteenth century by what

* For NOTES to the text, see pp. 119-121.

John K. Fairbank has called the disaster of Western technology and its handmaidens of treaty ports and gunboat diplomacy, China has been determined to erase or at least compensate for that memory. In so doing, she has resolutely sought the respect, if not the *fearful* respect, of the great powers.

This school of analysis probably has more adherents than all the other schools combined.² Whether for the sake of brevity, because readers and listeners are assumed to be impatient or ill-informed (or both), or whether because of the shortage of data, journalists and strategists of this school usually argue from the convenient fiction that China is a unitary actor, a corporate personality capable of making reasonable judgments about goals, options, and costs. They would have us believe that "China" is capable of coldly calculating the significance of alternative threats by other unitary actor "states," assessing all available options for responding to those threats, and then selecting the correct mixture of responses for achieving maximum political-military power status at least cost. To add to the illusion, writers of this school frequently employ the words "Mao" and "he" as if they were synonymous with "Peking" and "China." The image of a monolithic, authoritarian unit thus acquires a human veneer, the cosmetic value of which neither owes nor gives anything to analytical rigor.

A subordinate illusion within this school is the belief that China's behavior is predetermined by broad geographic imperatives, from which mere man cannot escape. The analyst is thus excused from delving deeply into the domestic data that other schools must mine; Chinese cultural traditions and trends are presumed to have little bearing on the behavior patterns of the incipient great power.

While the time frame for this scenario stretches from the mid-nineteenth century to the present and on into the last years of this century, the analyst tends to cast his projections in terms of the coming decade and to draw for his data on the most recent decade. China is thus a potential global "threat" and wrestles with at least four other power blocs in a balance-of-power game: the United States, the USSR, Japan, and Western Europe.

The plot, although laid on the global stage, is focused specifically on the geography of Northeast Asia, where four of the power blocs collide. The analyst seeks to discern patterns of "strategic interaction" among these blocs, the premise being that four or five corporate personalities are competing as if they were capable of adhering to a set of rules and responding to mutual stimuli ("political signals") largely divorced from the whims of leaders and led.

Advocates of this school of analysis tell us that China has been progressing toward her goal of equality with the major political powers on the East Asian as well as the global stage. Since the Korean War, China's status on the international diplomatic stage has grown, as symbolized by her admission to the United Nations in 1971 and her replacement of Taiwan on the Security Council. Her 1964 acquisition of a nuclear bomb punctuated her willingness to challenge external provocation, first in Korea in 1950, then in India in 1962, and, most recently, in North Vietnam. Whether or not her actual military power proves adequate for meeting future humiliations, or even for sustaining an image of political power in East Asian politics, among analysts of this school the illusion of near-equality is already a fact. In the sense that "power" is what an observer or adversary can be made to think it is, Japanese officials have told the author that the Nixon visit added precisely the right ingredient to raise China's external *political* power to the level of Japan's.

Given the external or foreign-policy focus of this first school of analysis, the domestic power of the military in China is perceived as a natural consequence of China's struggle for equality if not hegemony in Asia. Accepting Mao's aphorism about "politics growing out of the barrel of a gun," adherents of this theory would expect increased political power for the military as a result of China's response to external as well as internal threats. Indeed, the military and militant vocabulary of the Maoist era in Chinese social and political development might seem to underline their prediction that "militarism," if not military dictatorship, has become increasingly probable as China approaches the central issue of this analytical school: the attainment of great-power status.³

From the viewpoint of these analysts, recent events reflected a bitter struggle within China's high command over the identity of the primary enemy. From the perspectives of Lin Piao, the United States and its advanced weapons constituted not only the primary threat to China's status in Southeast as well as Northeast Asia but also the principal rationale for creating a technical counter-elite (and consuming the considerable national budgetary resources required to train and arm such people). Chou En-lai, on the other hand, found the Soviet threat more menacing, a view he shared with many senior military leaders. Chou's perception of menace was probably more sophisticated than that of Lin, who may not have weighed the political, economic, and psychological dimensions of the threat, especially the possible erosion of China's status among her Asian Communist allies.

In the broad analytical terms customarily employed by this school of analysis, "China's" behavior in 1971, especially the invitation to President Nixon, could be explained as an obvious counter against the USSR. Indeed, certain German analysts have asserted that the Nixon mission gave "nuclear guarantees" to the Chinese in the event of a Soviet invasion! Such an assertion would seem logical to many geopolitical analysts who think almost exclusively in terms of international politics, giving remarkably little attention to internal issues (perhaps because they tend to confuse and ultimately destroy the image of China as an entity).

During the controversy between Chou En-lai and Lin Piao that reached a climax in the summer of 1971, Lin's pleas for caution in approaching a détente with the United States apparently fell on deaf ears. For strategic military reasons (primarily to cope with only one enemy at a time, presumably to confuse the Japanese-American alliance, and possibly to challenge the Soviet Union), Chou invited Lin's primary enemy into the homeland and turned still further away from the USSR.

For our purposes in explaining or predicting Chinese politics, the major indicators of domestic interest groups associated with this scenario would be "anti-Soviet" versus "anti-American" attitudes. It is clear from Soviet radio broadcasts, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1969), that the Soviets have assumed the existence of a pro-Soviet

clientele in China; but it is equally clear that they have been unable to identify that clientele precisely.

Their problem is understandable if we consider two *observable* indicators of group attitudes: (1) close previous association with the USSR, whether in Soviet schools or with Soviet advisers, and (2) participation in the Korean War. Our own experience with allies should warn American strategists against the assumption that every foreign student trained in the United States may be counted on as a consistent friend. Indeed, the reverse may be the case (if, for example, the individual suffered from discrimination during his visit). Similarly, extended exposure to Soviet advice does not warrant the conclusion that Chinese advisees necessarily ended their relationship with the Soviets in the summer of 1960 on friendly terms.

Nor may we conclude that participation in the Korean War would incline a Chinese general toward love of the USSR and hatred of the United States. If attitudes of American generals toward Japan and Germany twenty years after World War II are any guide to shifts in professional and political attitude patterns, we might say that wartime perspectives and experience may lead to mutual respect and even cooperation in the postwar period.

In Section III, and in the Appendix containing charts on the careers of 1,400 leaders, we shall attempt to evaluate more broadly the relative importance of the Korean War experience and Soviet educational influence as factors bearing on factional behavior in China.

In Section IV, we shall argue that there is probably some merit in the notion that certain groups in China share a fundamental animosity toward either the United States or the USSR. Also, such differing viewpoints may provide a basis for conflict over related internal and external policy issues, including such matters as the Nixon visit, weapons systems, and strategic doctrine. But we must conclude that attitude patterns like these are not persistently independent variables determining interest-group behavior in China. More pragmatic motivations and loyalties are more likely to constitute the independent variables that dictate changing perceptions of Soviet and American threats. In any case, the author knows of no analyst who has made a persuasive identification

of consistently pro-Soviet or anti-Soviet interest groups whose attitudes were unmistakably based on shared experience.

THE POLITICAL-CULTURAL SCHOOL

The central issue in this theoretical approach is China's struggle to assimilate Western technology without destroying her own cultural traditions. In his testimony before Congress in 1966, John Fairbank stressed this theme with cogent accuracy:

This Western expansion over the world is now in conflict with the Chinese culture, which is the last one remaining part of the world that has not joined the international order. . . . They are fighting against it . . . they regard it as imperialist. [After 1840] . . . Western influence gradually disintegrated the old Chinese civilization. As the disaster gained momentum Western gunboats proved that China had to have scientific technology, then had to have Western industries, for which it was necessary to have Western learning and eventually Western institutions and even a Western type of government. . . . They resented this. . . . They feel victimized.⁴

The same point has been made by many scholars who have been fascinated by the struggle of the proud Chinese people and its leaders to absorb the onrush of technological change at a pace and through techniques that will minimize the politically and psychologically destabilizing costs of modernization -- a problem which every less developed country has faced or must face.⁵ In the view of these theorists, the problem has been especially painful for China, given the greatness of her civilization and political power scarcely five hundred years ago, when Europe was barely emerging from the Dark Ages. In essence, the problem has been "how to modernize without 'Westernizing'."

In this scenario, "China" as a political-cultural entity is the principal actor. The premise is that Chinese political culture is pitted against other, hostile political-cultural entities in various states of "Westernization"; China is thought to face the challenge of increasing pressures from both internal and external friends, enemies and neutrals, to conform to the political goals, values, vocabulary, administrative style, and pace of the technological revolution.

The language of Chinese politics abounds with references to "modernists" versus "traditionalists," "technocrats" versus "bureaucrats," "experts" versus "ideologues." In this context, the "military" in China has assumed a predictable status as the vanguard of technical modernization. For good or ill, that segment of Chinese society most interested in military industry, military weapons, military ideas, and military strategy has played a decisive role in the unending (and unendable) search for compromises between an emotional yearning to preserve tradition and a rational requirement to administer China's limited resources.

On a stage that is both global (in the sense that China must attempt to set her own pace of change) and local (in the sense that individuals and groups *within* China must come to grips with this central theme of Chinese life), we must judge the "plot" in the time frame of two centuries. The trends are unmistakable. Increasingly large and vocal segments of China's population are acquiring the tools, and therefore (according to Karl Marx) the values and goals of modernization. The rate at which older attitudes and perspectives must change is not a constant but will speed up under the impact of more cultural and trade exchanges between East and West. While enjoying many of the benefits of such trends (improved health, education, life expectancy, and even spiritual fulfillment), China and her leaders have been perhaps more acutely conscious of the costs of social and industrial revolution over those of evolution.

The consequences of the destruction of the ancient family system, the movement of youth from the farm to the city, from agricultural to industrial employment, and the proliferation of consumer demands in an increasingly complex and monetized distribution system have been dissected by a generation of American writers interested in the role of American economic assistance to less developed countries. Their conclusions apply to China, which must endure the personal as well as the social trauma of dramatic change in "life-style."

Analysts of the political-cultural school would explain the events of 1971 in China in terms of the leadership's preoccupation with pace and social technique. They argue that Mao Tse-tung, deeply conscious

of China's central dilemma, has simultaneously despaired of and relied on China's peasantry. On the one hand, hoping to commit the peasants to the fastest possible rate of change, he has persistently fostered struggle as the engine of change, has insisted on "dividing one into two" in order to escape from the routinized stagnation of bureaucratic unity. On the other hand, he has also clearly needed the leadership and energies of an imaginative bureaucracy, lest that most conservative element of an agricultural society, its farmers, prevent any departure from the old ways.⁶

As applied to the question of identifying interest groups in China, this dilemma of revolutionary pace and style has found expression in the domestic argument over the "two lines" of "Red" versus "expert" approaches to social and economic development. Within the military, the argument has hinged on the relative importance of man over weapons. In the field of economic development, the issue has been one of man over mechanical equipment. Furthermore, the controversy over organizational discipline has echoed the preoccupation with style: the question of the degree to which individuals should subordinate themselves to the Party, of the extent to which they should be "organization men."

It seems clear that Liu Shao-ch'i differed with Mao. While Liu placed much more emphasis on discipline, technology, and the urban proletariat, Mao's emphasis was on personal rather than organizational leadership, on traditional agricultural practices, and on the peasant masses. From Liu's viewpoint, one could make the peasant "modern" by giving him a tractor and by keeping him under the leadership of the better-educated urban proletariat.

Do such attitudes provide a basis for identifying interest groups and predicting their behavior? Certainly, during the Cultural Revolution, analysts of Chinese affairs in and outside China argued that such groups existed and could be labeled radicals versus conservatives, leftists versus rightists, etc. In part, such labels were derived from Red Guard posters and accusations against individuals for their counterrevolutionary behavior. But since the Red Guards themselves were distributed across the political spectrum, their accusations were rarely reliable evidence for the "conservative" or "radical" label.

Political labels were also used by Red Guards against most members of the "establishment" regardless of their actual revolutionary pace and style. In other words, if a man had been serving in a local bureaucracy -- whether government, military, or Party -- prior to 1967, he was fair game for irresponsible Red Guard groups that wished to gain power in the political system by replacing incumbents with their own representatives.

As late as the spring of 1973, the fundamental ambiguity of political labels such as "conservative," "radical," "rightist," and "leftist" was reflected in the campaign in China to label as "rightist" or "ultra-rightist" the purged Minister of Defense, Lin Piao. Ch'en Po-ta, formerly Madame Mao's "radical" ally of the Cultural Revolution, was also being called an "ultra-rightist."

Could other, more specific indicators be found to reveal an individual and a group of individuals as either "Maoist" or "Liuist," radical or conservative? That is to say, since the labels are much less meaningful than the behavior patterns they are supposed to connote, can we discern other indicators of interest-group affiliation and corresponding behavioral propensities? Stuart Schram, in his discussion of philosophical and stylistic differences between Liu and Mao, draws heavily on their distinctive *historical origins*, especially the professional environment in which each man had to work before 1949. Liu was forced to survive in a very dangerous, hostile urban environment, in which Party discipline was essential. Although life as such was relatively more comfortable there than that of rural revolutionaries (in the so-called "Red Areas"), the rural comrades could afford to be more permissive in their approach to systems management simply because communications, distances, and educational qualifications demanded a more leisurely, decentralized style. Liu, drawing on his experience in China's great cities, retained his faith in the urban worker as the proper revolutionary leader according to the Marxist-Leninist model.

Thus, in the field of agricultural development, Liu felt that mechanization was an essential prelude to collectivization; that industrialization had to precede what he considered "utopian agrarian socialism."⁷ But such a sequence of events, in his view, must rest on the

disciplined leadership of the Party, in which no single leader must be allowed a free hand. Where Mao had an almost mystical faith in the masses (especially the peasant masses) and in the single charismatic leader (himself) in preference to the omnipresent Party, Liu pledged his faith to the power of good organization.

Does this mean that all cadres who earned their earliest merits in cities may be labeled Liuists? Hardly; but we will argue below and in Section III that such an analysis of historical background is more reliable in evaluating individual and group behavior in China than are Red Guard reports. More to the point of this study, the typical plethora of indicators used to distinguish "conservatives" from "radicals," "Liuists" from "Maoists," and "leftists" from "rightists" provide us with little help in explaining or predicting the collective behavior of interest groups. Precisely because most relevant indicators are ill-defined, such categories may include excessively large numbers of people, whose adherence to differing elements of the "two lines" could shift significantly in crisis. As the categories are thus almost meaningless except for short-term political prediction, we turn to specific ingredients of historical background to refine our analytical models of *persistent* interest-group behavior.

THE CENTRAL-REGIONAL SCHOOL

While the two schools of analysis discussed so far have accented indicators of shared attitude patterns, either toward an external enemy or with respect to the internal pace and style of social change, the central-regional school accents the indicators of personal affiliation and loyalty. Its central issue is one familiar to all less developed countries: how to create a widespread sense of loyalty to the abstraction as well as the geographic totality of "China."

Thanks to a long tradition of localism, historically reinforced by a limited system of transportation and recently sustained by persistent differences in dialect and by the deliberate decentralization of economic and other policy, China's leaders have devoted much of their energies to the problem of lifting the peasant's sights beyond his own rice paddy, beyond family, village, and even county, to a geographic entity so large

as to be an abstraction that rarely diverts the citizen's zeal from the pragmatic tasks of daily survival. They have thus pursued a goal of spiritual nationalism, to replace the more traditional spiritual "culturalism" -- a concept widely held by overseas Chinese, who pledge their allegiance to a great cultural heritage rather than its geographic source.

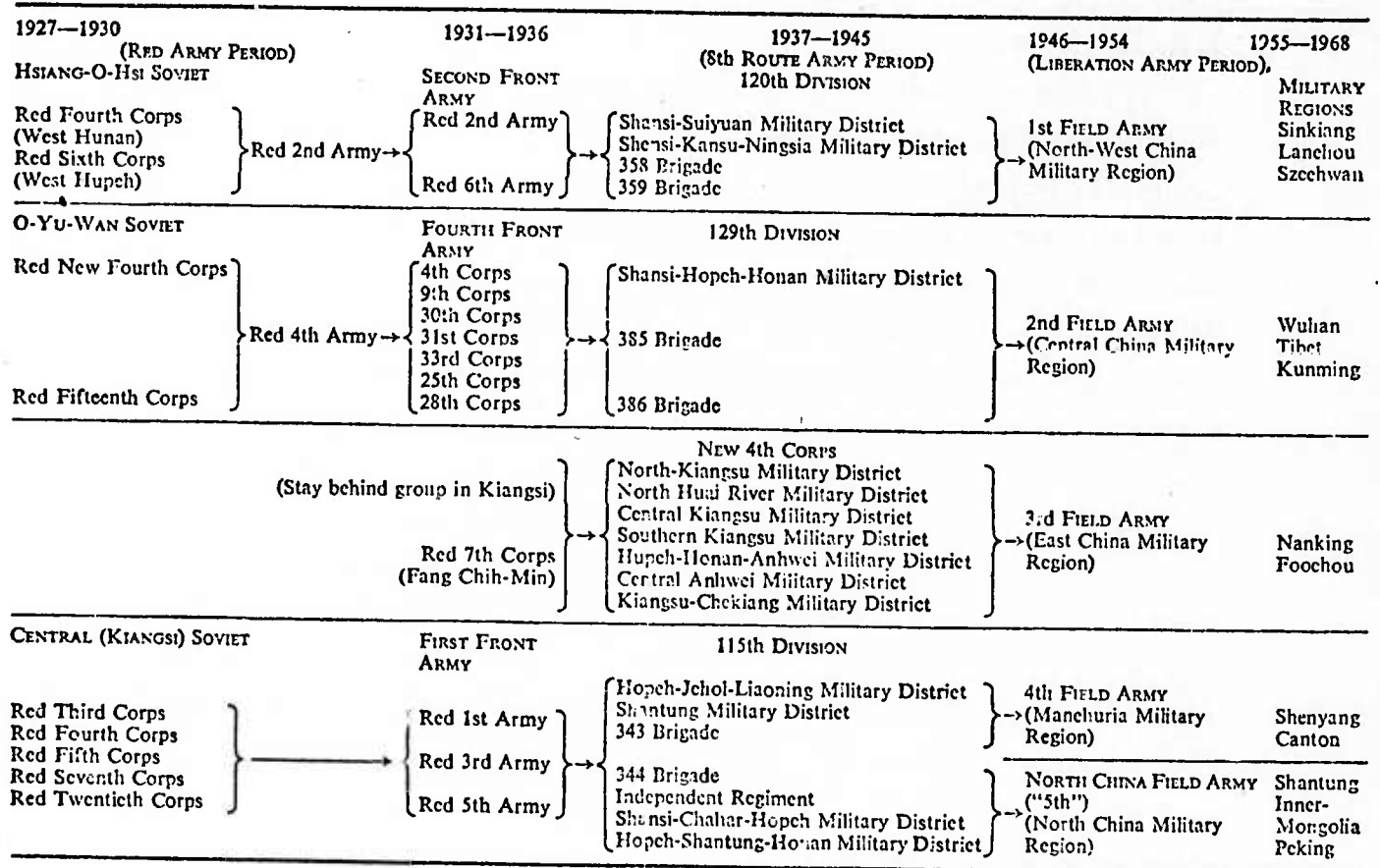
For China's leaders, this has been the spiritual fulcrum on which, if they succeed, they can hope to lever China's masses out of economic and social bondage; through the appeal to the national good, they may be able to persuade the masses to surrender social and economic traditions that have diverted scarce resources from productive ends. "Maoism" as a centralizing and nationalizing religion thus has provided a spiritual vehicle for demanding, indeed exciting, such a popular commitment. In great part, the process has been one of the movement of ideas and the "mass line" rather than the movement of people.

In this perception of China's internal behavior, the principal actors have been loyalty groups with distinctive institutional or geographic affiliations. Some analysts of this school argue that these interest groups derive their first order of *institutional* obligations from their historic affiliation with field-army systems that evolved in five relatively independent institutional streams between 1927 and 1949.⁸

The senior civil and military leaders who led the earliest guerrilla units of the Red Army, from their 1927 origins in Central China, through the operations of the 1930s against the Nationalists, and, after 1937, in North China against the Japanese, who after 1945 reorganized their expanding forces for renewed civil war with the Nationalists, and who, finally, fought against United Nations forces from 1950 through 1953, pursued careers with one unique characteristic: Less than 15 percent of the high command served in more than one stream of institutional evolution. (See Chart A for the institutional streams of the five field armies.) That is to say, the five field armies which defeated the Nationalists between 1945 and 1949 had undergone essentially independent processes of development over the previous twenty years. Among 85 percent of seven hundred key military leaders analyzed in 1969, an officer who had first joined a unit, for example, from the Ouyuan Soviet (Central

Chart A

THE EVOLUTION OF FIELD ARMIES, 1927-1968



China) in 1928 had become a senior commander or commissar in the Second Field Army in 1949; an officer who in 1928 had joined Ho Lung in Central Hunan had become a senior commander in the First Field Army by 1949.

Translated into American experience, this would be comparable to having each of the six American continental armies led by officers who had served together (and nowhere else) for forty years. Even if the continental armies were suddenly deactivated, one could imagine the strong informal bonds of shared victories and defeats among former comrades, especially if deactivation did not actually remove the leaders from the locale which their old army had occupied.

One group of analysts of the central-regional school explains China's political conflict system in terms of a balance-of-power process involving five major interest groups (field-army systems), among which the central elite acts as a power broker, a coordinator of former field-army equities and interests. The distribution of power before, during, and after the Cultural Revolution is perceived as a reflection of conflict and compromise among these five systems.⁹ The premise in this approach to analysis is that loyalties to an "old-boy network" of veteran Long Marchers take priority over many other loyalties, local or national, whether the issue that challenges those loyalties concerns the identity of the primary enemy, the correct attitude toward pace and style of revolution, or any of a host of other problems, to be discussed below.

A variant of this thesis concerns the primacy, since 1954, of the military region as the vessel of focal loyalties for China's leadership. (See Chart A and the map on page 18 for the relationship between field armies and military regions.) In 1954, with the reorganization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) after the Korean War, all large organizations formerly labeled "field armies" were deactivated. Thereafter, the three-division "army" (*chün*), directly under the control of a military region headquarters, became the principal ground-force operational command. At the same time, air force and navy units were organized under the local operational control of air defense districts and three major fleet headquarters. Between military regions, air defense districts, and fleet headquarters on the one hand, and the General Staff in Peking on

CHINESE MILITARY REGIONS AND FIELD ARMY FACTIONAL BASE AREAS



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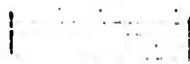
First Field Army Political Base Area



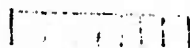
Second Field Army Political Base Area



Third Field Army Political Base Area



Fourth Field Army Political Base Area



Fifth Field Army Political Base Area

the other, there were no intervening levels of military bureaucracy. The original thirteen military regions were reduced by two after the Cultural Revolution; the remaining eleven military regions apparently enjoyed increased power over human and material resource allocations at the local level.¹⁰

More specifically, the focus of the central-regional school of analysis is the adversary relationship among four of the military regions: Shenyang, Peking, Nanking, and Canton. Those four regions contain more than 70 percent of the military and industrial power of China.¹¹ Indeed, their political power was reflected in the "election" of the commanders of the Canton, Nanking, and Shenyang military regions to the April 1969 Ninth Politburo, the only regional commanders to be so singled out. The importance of those four regions should be underscored for the benefit of analysts who think of "China" as a unitary actor. For practical political purposes, especially for resource allocation and equity identification, we should constantly focus our attention on the values, goals, and status of those military staffs and the civil-military organizations within those four regions.

From the perspective of this scenario, the postures, bases, and political signals from external enemies, allies, and neutrals may be evaluated, not in terms of "China's" rational view, but in terms of their utility for each of the four primary military regions in their internecine political dialogue. Because that dialogue is far more important to their political future than a real or imagined threat from outside China, analysts of this school would remind us that classical Chinese leaders perceived external events primarily as opportunities and levers for influencing the behavior of one another.

Since 1949 the trends suggest a slow progression toward greater centralization of loyalties. Thanks to the nationwide effort to foster the Mao cult during the Cultural Revolution, a climax of pseudoreligious enthusiasm followed the distribution of millions of copies of the Red Book and the exhortations of millions of Red Guards to study the thoughts of Mao.¹²

But the achievement in the field of pro-Maoist spiritual hysteria was not matched by a significant erosion of regional (as against central)

authority. Indeed, Chou En-lai probably understood how destabilizing would be the effects of Maoism if it were allowed to continue to inflame the emotions and passions of leaders and led. The destruction and death witnessed upon one another by contending Red Guard groups during the Cultural Revolution were symptomatic of a religious war, the kind of bitter struggle with which Christian historians are so familiar. In short, "Maoism" did not necessarily insure national unity. Thus, as regional power groups were acquiring new sources of political, military, and economic power, both during and after the Cultural Revolution, Mao buttons, Mao statues, and the Red Book began to disappear. The time had come for cooling the passions and reassessing loyalties.

During this reassessment, Chou En-lai must have reassured his principal regional commanders that their traditional status would not be undermined by any alternative structure of loyalties such as the incipient system based on interservice rivalry, which is discussed below. Indeed, in the winter of 1971-1972, reports from the Nanking Military Region suggested that mobile teams of propagandists there were attempting to sustain a sense of intraregional loyalty as a practical focus.

In short, while the political-cultural school might argue that Chou En-lai has preferred a more moderate pace of change in loyalties as well as in bureaucratic style, the central-regional school would suggest that Chou has sought the support of the most important regional commanders to preserve a central-regional balance-of-power system; that he has undertaken a strategy of internal propaganda to mute Maoism's call to rebellion, which from 1966 to 1969 tore country and leadership apart; and that the tradition of local loyalties in conflict with a nationalizing elite is still an active ingredient in China's internal political process.

To help evaluate the utility of the central-regional school for explaining and predicting Chinese political behavior, this study will examine two observable indicators: field-army affiliation of each senior leader in China, and military-regional affiliation of each leader (see Chart B). If leaders sharing the same field-army or military-regional affiliation have survived successive purges since 1949; if their

Chart B
CHARACTERISTICS OF DATA ABOUT CHINESE INTEREST GROUPS

Analytical School	Data										Data Implications				
	Factors for Domestic Interest Group Analysis			Specific		Readily Available		Attitudes or Abstractions		Consistent Loyalty		Geographic Locus		Indicator Characteristics	
				Yes	No	Yes	No			Place or Organization	Personality			Local	National
Strategic Interaction	1. Affiliation with Soviet Teachers/Advisers			X			X						X		X
	2. Korean War Participation			X		X			X				X		X
Political-Cultural	3. Two Ideological Lines				X								X		X
	4. Field Army Affiliation			X					X						
Central-Regional	5. Military Regional Affiliation			X		X						X		X	
	6. Provincial Origin			X		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
Bureaucratic-Politics	7. Party/Military Position			X			X			X			X		X
	8. Ministry/Service Affiliation			X		X			X				X		X
Generational	9. Career Function (Manager-Ideologue)			X		X			X				X		X
	10. Generation			X		X							X		X
Palace-Politics	11. Educational-level			X			X		X				X		X
	12. Personal Affiliation				X					X		X		X	X

NOTE: Factors which are circled are those to which this study has devoted special attention. See Section III and the Appendixes.

survival as representatives of such affiliations has been statistically unusual; or, conversely, if certain leaders distinguished by shared historic regional loyalties have suffered collective purge, we may tentatively conclude that these indicators have some utility for our understanding of China's internal political conflict system.

A weakness of these indicators is obvious: What do we do about men whose careers have crossed several field armies and several military regions? We will discuss this problem in some detail in Section III and in the Appendix. It should be noted here, however, that such shifting has not been the norm in Chinese civil and military appointments since 1949. Before then, as already mentioned, very few leaders crossed field-army lines. Nevertheless, enough cases of shifting have occurred to warrant judgments on the part of the analyst.

THE BUREAUCRATIC-POLITICS SCHOOL

The central issue of this theoretical approach to China's political, economic, and social development is the question of institutional dominance over that evolution (or revolution). Which bureaucratic organization will have decisive power over the direction and pace of sociopolitical change?

Unlike either the strategic-interaction or the political-cultural school of analysis, this theoretical approach requires a profound knowledge of internal affairs. For the principal actors in this scenario are presumed to be large organizations that have acquired distinctive values, goals, and style in the internal political process.

Also unlike the other schools, this approach argues from the premise that governmental behavior is not primarily the consequence of rationality on the part of a national or even a regional entity but is, rather, the outcome of interorganizational bargaining for budgets, status, and power.¹³ As Graham Allison has put it,

The decisions and actions of governments are essentially intranational political outcomes: "outcomes" in the sense that what happens is not chosen as a solution to a problem but rather results from compromise, coalition, competition, and confusion among government officials who see different

faces of an issue: "political" in the sense that the activity from which the outcomes emerge is best characterized as bargaining. . . .

The actors in this bureaucratic-politics scenario are thus organizations; the problem for the analyst is to identify the *key* organizations among them. Frequently, despairing of finding a workable explanation for behavior, the analyst resorts to the fiction of "the Party monolith," as if "the Party" rather than "China" or "Mao" were sovereign. Such a simplification offers little more light than the notion of a unitary China. We may be grateful to the Cultural Revolution for its revelation of the Chinese internal political process as a very complex bargaining system, in which the Party itself is prey to bureaucratic conflict and, furthermore, is confronted by adversaries in "the military" ready to usurp the Party's status and power under appropriate circumstances.

Within the military, too, the decade of the 1960s revealed a burgeoning competition among the five services for budgets, weapons systems, and power, a competition with which Americans are familiar from their own experience.¹⁴

The stage for this analytical model is thus perceived, not as strategic, historical, cultural, or geographic, but as institutional. The analyst seeks to identify *national* institutions in competition with one another, and tends to discount environmental factors that may affect organizational behavior. Organizations are thought to have a certain momentum, which changes slowly, regardless of "national interest." Thus, adherents of this theory tend to identify their own future with that of their bureaucratic affiliation, to assume that "what is good for the PLA (or the army, navy, or air force) *must* be good for the country."

In the context of this approach to China's internal and external policy behavior, the past decade is perceived as a dynamic sociopolitical process in which Lin Piao attempted to create a new technocracy within the military to replace the more traditional central-regional system of loyalties. Indeed, it could be argued that Mao attempted to undermine the traditional system as early as 1959 with the removal of P'eng Te-huai.¹⁵ Seeking to weaken and disperse the *conventionally* modernizing standing

army, which was then confident of being protected under the Soviet nuclear umbrella, Mao opposed this dangerous internal political trend and attempted to focus the attention of the younger, more technical services -- the air force and the navy -- on the external threat and the vision of nuclear self-sufficiency. While such a vision might consume an increasing share of a limited military budget, it promised to gain allies for Mao and the central military authority in a crisis.

Indeed, the air force and navy were generally more responsive to central directives during the Cultural Revolution than were the ground forces, which were far more involved in local political issues and leaders. We may assume that, for air force and navy leaders, the question was not simply one of responsiveness to the Center; it also concerned allocation of future military budgets and sophisticated weapons systems. If Maoist sponsorship promised a larger share of budgets and faster development of advanced weapons, then it would pay to support Mao.

Thus, perceptive students of China between 1960 and 1971 were treated to the curious phenomenon not only of civil-military and intra-Party bureaucratic rivalry, but also of an incipient interservice rivalry in a socialist state: a hazard characteristic of bourgeois military bureaucracies, to which the USSR had already fallen prey. Such a system of competing organizational equities might be far less threatening to internal political stability and central military authority in China than the prevailing formal system of military-regional competition and the informal system of field-army loyalties. To be sure, field-army loyalties might continue to plague a more Westernized system of centrally managed, service-oriented chains of command and promotion; but the inevitable advancement of younger officers could undermine and ultimately neutralize the political significance of pre-1950 group affiliations while generating new ones.

By late 1971 it appeared that the Mao-Lin efforts of 1965, like those of 1959, had failed. Although the air force and the navy probably *were* more generally responsive to the Center than the ground forces (as reflected in the sudden and disciplined standdown of the entire air force in the late summer of 1971), control of most military power seemed to

remain as regionally oriented as ever. A revived trend toward economic decentralization, the power of regional military figures on Party committees, and the limited movement of troop units out of traditional military-regional bases in 1969-1970 suggested the regional military's continued resistance to major changes.

Testing of nuclear weapons, presumably under central direction, did continue, the latest test occurring in August 1972. But evidence from open sources pointed to a possible reduction of resource allocations to long-range nuclear weapons, which are useless for the resolution of political controversy among ground-force and military-regional commanders. In other words, the ground forces' internal political as well as professional preferences in the 1960s suggested a possible reversal of the trend in military budget allocations toward a revival of P'eng Te-huai's pre-1959 emphasis on conventional modernization. If this was so, the prospect for major changes in China's organization of military power as a result of Mao's 1959 sponsorship of interservice rivalry were fading, and Chou En-lai's perception of and eloquence about the external threat in 1971 would appear all the more important as an attempt to induce a major reorganization of the PLA before it was too late.

From the perspectives of this school of analysis, Chou's reception of Nixon could be explained, not in terms of a concern about the *external* threat from the Soviet Union, but primarily in terms of Chou's need for the Soviet military posture as a lever for undermining Lin Piao's emerging technocratic elite -- a clear threat to Chou's *domestic* power status. Recognizing the importance of the American nuclear threat to Lin Piao's bureaucratic survival, which had thrived on plans for coping with American nuclear power in the Pacific, Chou may have reasoned that he needed to remove that threat and to attract the loyalties of Lin's natural professional adversaries -- ground-force commanders -- by providing them with a cogent argument for strengthening their budgets at the expense of the military technocrats. In the aftermath of the purges of 1971, it appears that the air force, the navy, the General Political Department, and the General Rear Service Department did lose power to ground-force commanders in key military regions. In some measure, the Nixon visit

could thus be interpreted as both a cause and an effect of China's interservice and intrabureaucratic rivalry.

Three observable factors will be used to help identify interest groups with political bureaucratic bonds (see Chart B): (1) Party versus military career status (the civil-military dimension of factional conflict); (2) ministry affiliation within the civil hierarchy or service affiliation within the military hierarchy (interservice rivalry); and (3) functional career within either the civil or the military hierarchy (the professional versus the amateur; the commander versus the commissar). These factors may permit us to determine the extent to which representatives of specific ministries or services, or of specific technical skills, have fared more or less well than others in the internal political conflict system of China. If no single service, school, or professional technique seems to have been favored in personnel assignments over the past twenty years, the bureaucratic-politics model must be regarded as less useful than other models for explaining Chinese factional political behavior. Conversely, if certain ministries or services, or commanders (commissars), have enjoyed a higher rate of survival during a succession of purges, such factors become important in predicting future survival.

THE GENERATIONAL SCHOOL¹⁶

The central question in this analytical approach to key issues of China's domestic political conflict is that of the generational succession: the pace at which the younger leaders succeed to the responsibilities of older generations. A generation is defined as a group of leaders who (regardless of age) *entered* the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at the same time and shared a given period of professional and political experiences. The history of the CCP and the Red Army may be divided into twelve such periods, each characterized by a major crisis.

From the perspective of this study, the most important are the first four generations: (1) pre-May 1928; (2) June 1928 - November 1931; (3) December 1931 - July 1937; and (4) August 1937 - December 1940. They are the most important because these men occupy more than 90 percent of the 1,400 key civil and military positions by which we shall define

the elite in Section IV of this Report. For example, within the ground forces, the majority of military-regional command and staff positions of significance are occupied by second- and third-generation officers, while first-generation people are found principally in Peking, and fourth-generation people principally at army (corps) and military-district levels or below. The approximate 1967 distribution of the first ten generations in the ground forces (and probably in local forces, the General Political Department, and the General Rear Services Department) is shown on Chart C.

Since the bulk of the high command falls within the first four military generations, it is important to underline those aspects of experience that may be expected to distinguish one generation from another. For we must recognize that the time spread between the entry of the oldest member of the first generation into the Communist Party, in 1923, and the entry of the youngest member of the fourth generation, in late 1940, is eighteen years. Quite apart from variations in generational experiences of the post-1940 period, it is assumed that an official's *earliest* experience profoundly affects his lifelong attitudes toward such crucial issues as the role of the military in society, the authority of a field commander, the criteria for selecting future generals, the proper organization of military power, and the most effective strategic and tactical techniques for applying military power.¹⁷ This school of analysis argues that attitudes on each of those issues reflect a broad "generational viewpoint," based principally on early military and political experience and education. Admittedly, these attitudes may be modified later by such other factors as developing family ties, affiliation with a particular field-army leadership, prolonged assignment to one military region, and, perhaps most important, a prolonged stay in one of several civil or military career channels after 1953.

The first two generations come almost entirely from the Central Yangtze Valley provinces and are of poor peasant stock. With only a limited formal education, they have performed superbly in the military and political struggles that punctuate their careers. Having traveled little abroad, they have maintained a high degree of xenophobia; indeed, the traditional Chinese suspicion of people even from different parts of

Chart C

GENERATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER, 1969
(in percentages of elite positions)

Geographic Origin:		Central and South China				North China		All Regions			
Average age in 1967:		62	57	54	50	46	Unknown				
Military Generations:		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National level (100 positions)	Aug 1966	60	34	6							
	Dec 1967	50	44	6							
Military region (104 positions)	Aug 1966	27	42	31							
	Dec 1967	20	39	41							
Military district (138 positions)	Aug 1966	10	49	35	5		1				
	Dec 1967	6	39	49	5		1				
Corps level (102 positions)	Aug 1966	3	39	52	6						
	Dec 1967		38	53	9						
Division level	1966		5	50	15						
Regimental level	1966			5	60	30	5				
Battalion level	1966					25	65	10			
Company level	1966						5	50	30	15	
Platoon level	1966								10	55	35

NOTES: (1) Estimates of age, geographic origin and national, military regional, military district and corps-level distribution are derived from 500 biographies surveyed by the author in 1967; (2) national-level positions include MAC, MND, General Staff, General Political Department, Air Force, Navy, Armor, Artillery, Chemical, Engineers, General Rear Services Department, Public Security Forces, Railway Engineers & Signal Headquarters; (3) military regional positions include commander, commissar, three deputy commanders, three deputy commissars; (4) military district positions include commander, commissar, two deputy commanders, two deputy commissars; (5) corps positions include commander, deputy commander, commissar; (6) estimates of distribution at division-level and below are based on promotion regulations and an extrapolation from incomplete biographic data.

China probably marks their attitudes toward men from other military regions. Their experience in handling complex problems of military-political coordination at the local level has probably reinforced a sense of self-confidence in mobilizing and manipulating China's peasantry -- a confidence that has been vital to their long and frequently painful climb to national leadership.

This sense of performing a political role rather than primarily a professional military function should have been reinforced by the early experiences of the first two generations. Furthermore, since their objective was clearly revolutionary, their style demanded assumption of control over all available resources, including ideology, in their desperate struggle against the odds. To criticize these men as opportunists would be to miss the point that, in a struggle for survival, opportunism is the very essence of the struggle and the label "opportunist" is a compliment to the victor.

For Chinese military leaders of the two generations before November 1931, when the Central Kiangsi Soviet was formally established, the defensive strategy and the offensive guerrilla tactics of People's War were imposed by circumstances. These men thus tended to be local and regional (rather than national) in political perspective, political rather than military-professional in their sense of role, and oriented to the relatively independent strategic defense of a particular locale through offensive, small-unit irregular tactics.

Conversely, the third and fourth generations entered the Communist Party and the Red Army in a context of increasing specialization and division of labor between the military and the Party. For the Party had grown to such an extent by late 1931 that it was possible to replace many military-political administrators in Kiangsi villages with Party cadres, who were largely removed from military affairs. After November 1931, professional military schools, an emphasis on conventional tactics and a more conventional defense of the entire "country" (that is, the Kiangsi Soviet before 1934 and much of North China after July 1937), and greater stress on the professionalization of the officer corps under Russian auspices tended to instill new values, which should have distinguished the third and, especially, the fourth generation from the first

and, especially, the second. The two later generations should have been less confident of the "mass line," of the power of the untutored masses as a military force, of their own skill as political manipulators (at which they had had considerably less experience than the first two generations), and of guerrilla warfare or, broadly, People's War for national defense. Furthermore, because they entered the Party and the Red Army during a period of great national crisis (after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931), the third and fourth generations (the latter including a large number of North China students) tended to have significantly different motivation for joining the Communist cause. Confronted by a foreign enemy and drawn from a wider, better-educated cross-section of Chinese youth, these men could be expected to perceive their loyalties on a national rather than a regional or local scale.

Broadly observed, this scenario suggests that *each successive generation*, as a group, has *tended to veer further away from the philosophy, style, and viewpoint of Maoism*, as described under the political-cultural school above. Thus, the first two generations, drawn predominantly from the poor Central Yangtze Valley peasantry (the second generation, especially, having had minimal formal education), spent their personally and professionally formative years in a context of guerrilla warfare, in which almost every political or military act aimed at the political mobilization of the masses. These men, already strongly tied to local customs and organized into local units (one county in Hupeh, for example, produced approximately 150 second- and third-generation generals) may have abjured warlordism. But they probably acquired many of the politically myopic features of the warlord outlook:¹⁸ a strong sense of local loyalty (reinforced by the traditional Chinese suspicion of the "stranger") perhaps best stated in Sheridan:

. . . a bandit became a warlord at the point where he acquired acknowledged control over a specific area and assumed the tasks of governing it.¹⁹

The application of this scenario to the past decade in China suggests increasingly bitter opposition by the first and second generations to the rise of the third and fourth. As late as the spring of 1969, 95 percent of about five hundred key positions in the PLA were held by men who had entered the Red Army before December 1936. It seems clear that one of the purposes of the Cultural Revolution was to remove many of those men in order to pave the way for the rise of a younger generation (youth in this context being defined as men in their mid-fifties!). Indeed, it seems possible that Lin Piao had hoped to foster a new generation of technocrats during the 1960s to pace the evolution of advanced weapons. Mao Tse-tung has certainly been concerned with the emergence of a new revolutionary generation, imbued with a spirit of self-sacrifice and rational service. As of 1972, such a theme of service was evident in China, if we may judge by youthful responses to questions of visiting correspondents about career objectives.

To what degree does the single observable factor employed in the analytical approach guide us to a better understanding of domestic political conflict? On the one hand, the evidence of 1972 suggests that the pace of generational shift may have slowed down; that the opposition by older leaders to assumption of power by the younger may have reached a climax between September 1968, when Red Guards were disciplined and sent to distant labor assignments, and the summer of 1971, when the membership of new Party committees across the land seemed to reflect a triumphant return of the first two generations to power at all levels. Indeed, the revived activity of Yeh Chien-ying (at the age of 73) together with Chou En-lai (73) at the Center, and the continuing power of old comrades like Hsü Shih-yu (66) and Li Hsien-nien (67), may have served to divert attention from the inexorable erosion of their ranks by the grim reaper, underscored by the death of Ch'en Yi and Chang Kuo-hua in 1972.

Given those events of the past four years, with the apparent decline of youth and the temporary ascendancy of age among the leadership, it would seem that Chou En-lai, concerned for the stability of China in her search for social, political, and economic revolution, opted for a slower pace of change from one generation to another. In so doing, he doubtless encountered opposition from Lin Piao, who had created a younger

technocracy in the 1960s to replace the old guard, a movement which Mao had probably supported within certain limits.

This is not to suggest that Chou opposes the rise of the young; he is too practical to fight the inevitable. However, having witnessed the consequences of youthful political passions during the Cultural Revolution, he may have concluded that their assumption of power must be more measured. In that judgment he apparently has the general support of his current political allies, especially the senior and most powerful military regional commanders.

Nevertheless, a subtle shift of power seems to have been initiated in the past year. Despite the statistics of military leaders occupying Party, government, and military posts at provincial and central levels, an effort seems to have been made within the military to promote older leaders into civil positions while moving more professional younger leaders into military jobs. If such a trend continues, central authority may be able to count on a more reliable response from new division and corps commanders should another authority crisis confront China, especially at a point in time when Chou En-lai, the master power broker, is no longer present to manipulate and compromise.

On the other hand, such broad comments about trends in the mobility and the attitudes of different generations can provide little more than a context within which other factors must define interest groups. In other words, the generational school, like the strategic interaction and the political-cultural schools, is very sweeping in its abstractions. Obviously, many people may belong to the same generation while owing allegiance to quite different interest groups, their short-term loyalties and motivations overwhelming whatever general sense of loyalty they may have toward their generation. Of these short-term loyalties, perhaps the most crucial and least documentable is personal loyalty.

THE PALACE-POLITICS SCHOOL

The central issue for this analytical model is the question of succession after the death of Chairman Mao and Premier Chou. It is as specific as the issues of the other models are broad. And the time

frame for decision is as narrowly defined (the 1970s) as the time perspective of the political-cultural scenario is nearly timeless (two centuries).

Analysts of this school abound; they are especially numerous among the Chinese, particularly those on Taiwan.²⁰ Politics to them is a very personal activity, in which personal loyalties ultimately dictate behavior and the actors are individuals rather than corporate groups. Thus, in their analyses of political behavior they refer to a "Mao-man" or a "Lin [Lin Piao]-man," implying that behavior can be explained primarily in terms of personal obligations and ties. Needless to say, such a concept does not deny the importance of other factors already discussed; it merely focuses attention on the personal outcome of such factors. And it denies that corporate loyalties (to attitude patterns, to a preferred administrative style, to field-army systems, to regional or provincial groups, to the Party, to Korean War veterans, to a bureaucratic organization, to a career function, or to a generation) are of lasting validity or of practical political significance *without* the focal ingredient of personal obligation.

Nathan, in his excellent exposition on this concept,²¹ stresses the importance of the "dyadic tie," a two-person relationship based on a well-understood set of rights and obligations, which are cultivated by a constant exchange of gifts and services, and are subject to abrogation by either member. In Nathan's view, individuals may mobilize their collective primary, secondary, and tertiary ties to "form a functionally specific, self-conscious, relatively persistent non-corporate political conflict structure . . . [called] a faction." By "faction" Nathan does not mean an organized opinion group. It is crucial to this school of analysis that sets of dyadic ties (not corporate dissent or corporate loyalty) dictate the political behavior of the group of which they are a part. Therefore, a faction cannot survive the death of the top leader, since all of his crucial dyadic ties disappear with him. Moreover, according to Nathan, as the number of dyadic ties increases, the faction becomes more unstable, since subordinate elements tend to give priority to their immediate ties, thereby challenging the viability of corporate unity. Because of this tendency toward instability, such factions are most

likely to survive only by attaching themselves to formal organizations. Even then, a faction, as described by this school, is limited in size and power by its inherent tendencies toward internal competition and division. By contrast,

Certain other types of conflict structure, for example highly organized political parties or armies, can, by virtue of their highly complex, functionally specialized organization, their clear boundaries, and their high degree of control over participants, engage in feats of mobilization, indoctrination, and coordination which are beyond the capacities of factions.²²

In his analysis of behavior in the Cultural Revolution as a case study of his model of Chinese domestic political conflict, Nathan quickly (and properly) castigates the analysts of the political-cultural school who would explain the rise and fall of various leaders in ideological terms of "the two lines." He points out that men whose records were totally "Maoist" fell, while Chou En-lai, whose record as a Maoist is very unreliable, and others like him survived. Instead, Nathan observes a typical factional cycle in which the persistent emergence of contradictory orders from the Center and the comic-opera vilification of certain leaders reflect agreement, disagreement, and compromise among factions. More broadly, Nathan feels that factional politics has been at work at the Center since 1950 and remains likely to govern Chinese political conflict resolution in the foreseeable future. In other words, he rejects the notions that a single individual (such as Mao) could resolve intraelite conflict and that institutionalized groups are likely to split away from the Party to become relatively independent, competing political organizations.

Because of the propensity of a factional system toward instability and cyclical policy shifts, Nathan sees no way of predicting policy on the basis of this factional model. He notes that, before the Cultural Revolution, shifting policy lines, alternation of "radical" with "moderate" policies, and often contradictory policy signals reflected the inability of the system to move consistently in any policy direction. Indeed, the threat of Mao's achieving too dominant a position may have

provoked opposition from former allies, who, as early as 1959 at Lushan, confronted Mao with new alignments. According to this analysis, Lin Piao's faction sought to use Mao's name to establish dominance over the PLA. Other Party factions, especially the followers of P'eng Chen, sought to establish power equal to or greater than Mao's. From 1962 to 1964, Mao and his factional allies counterattacked with the "Socialist Education Campaign," the "Learn from the PLA Campaign," the escalation of the cult of Mao, the attack on intellectuals in the Party, and the spread of PLA influence throughout the country.

In the course of this analysis Nathan begins to drift into a bureaucratic-politics scheme by associating Mao's principal opponents with larger formal organizations: the "Party" and the "Cultural Apparatus." Indeed, he offers the judgment that the reason for Mao's ultimate defeat at the hands of his rivals was that he failed to develop institutional links to the Red Guards, and remained dependent upon the Party and the PLA for the creation of a new set of factions outside the system. To the extent that such a judgment is true, we must look more closely to the bureaucratic-politics school for guidance in assessing Chinese political conflict in terms of interest-group behavior. This becomes all the more desirable when we read in Nathan that "None of this evidence [of factions, as Nathan defines them] is really conclusive and it remains impossible to delineate with any confidence who the major factional leaders have been, much less their followers."²³

In other words, although the analytical system that Nathan has described with greater clarity than most of its adherents is popular and plausible, it is not very helpful to the strategist or policy planner, not to mention the political scientist, unless the essential building blocks of the system, the factions, can be identified. While Nathan is satisfied that the central elite displays modes of behavior characteristic of a factional political system, the difficulty of identifying senior leaders in their dyadic relationships to one another forces us to search for less specific observable indicators of factional behavior. Just as the strategic-interaction school and the political-cultural school are too abstract in their choice of factors, the palace-politics school appears to be too precise for the data normally available to us.

CONCLUSIONS

Before examining the personnel changes that took place in China between 1956-1958 and 1971-1972, a brief summary of the characteristics of the indicators employed in Section III may be useful.

Among the twelve indicators outlined in this section (cf. Chart B, p. 21), all but two are relatively specific; that is, the data, once stabilized, are factual, requiring minimal judgment on the part of the analyst. Unfortunately, data on five of the twelve indicators are extremely difficult to find. Our search among major biographic data banks shows that information on exposure to Soviet education, on adherence to one of two ideological lines, on provincial origin, on level of education attained, and on personal affiliation eludes the researcher, especially with respect to second- and third-generation members. These gaps in information naturally reduce the utility of schools of analysis which would use such data to comment on interest-group behavior. The political-cultural and palace-politics schools in particular, therefore, must rely heavily on intuition, a subject which we will discuss at greater length below.

As we argued in the Introduction, data having to do with loyalty to attitudes or abstractions ("ideological lines") demand the analyst's judgment, and their significance is frequently ambiguous. Data that reveal loyalty to either organizations or personalities are more persuasive because they depend less on intuition and analytical judgment, and their meaning is less ambiguous. To cite specific examples of the first category, exposure to Soviet instruction and advice and participation in the Korean War suggest the possibility of a pro-Soviet attitude pattern in matters of warfare and administrative style, but the data are not conclusive. Likewise, data concerning affiliation with one of two broad ideological lines usually relate to attitude patterns and abstractions that are subject to widely different interpretations. Data on career function, generational affiliation, and educational background also suggest possible attitude patterns (on the "Red" versus "expert" controversy, the mass line versus Party discipline, etc.), and may indeed reinforce other data, but the analyst must use his imagination to make a persuasive case from this evidence.

Conversely, to the extent that an individual has spent most of his career (including the Korean War period) in a particular field army or military region, spent his early or later professional years in a single province, has followed either a civil or a military career, or has been affiliated with a particular ministry or military service, we may make tentative judgments about his *corporate* loyalties -- that is to say, not to an ambiguous abstraction but to a collection of people whose sense of "in-group" identity may be historical-institutional (pre-1954), geographic, or bureaucratic (post-1954).

The same kind of data may point to personal loyalties, loyalties which could either diminish or reinforce corporate obligations. Likewise, data on Korean War service, generational, and personal (family) affiliations *could* be evidence of "dyadic ties" with particular senior leaders. That the Chinese regard such personal ties as crucial in politics is clear from Red Guard as well as Chinese Nationalist analyses during the Cultural Revolution. However, as we have suggested earlier, those analyses rest on such precise judgments of an individual's priority of loyalties that judgments and analyses alike must be highly suspect. Our preference would be for a less precise, less personalized assessment of motivations and loyalties, which did not rely on but might be reinforced by hypotheses about a dyadic tie.

With respect to the geographic locus of loyalties implied by different data, some data point more clearly than others to particular groups. Thus, because of relatively stable elite distribution among military regions since 1954, data on both field-army and military-regional affiliation provide mutually reinforcing historical evidence of *local corporate* loyalties. Provincial origin and family affiliation may reinforce such evidence. All other factors are ambiguous (e.g., long-term occupancy of the same Party or military position), or they cut across local loyalties to suggest either a central or a broadly national affiliation because many men in Peking, or many in different parts of the country, share the same experience. (Examples of the latter category are exposure to Soviet education or advisers; Korean War participation; adherence to an ideological line; career

affiliation with one ministry or military service; career function; educational level; and generational affiliation.)

As a general principle, factors pointing to either a central or a nationally based interest group must be considered as overriding any factors that suggest local interest groups. That is, if what appears to be a *dominant* local interest group fails to prove its dominance in the shifting of human and material resources, we may hypothesize the intervention of more broadly based interest groups with a greater commitment to the "common" (as against the "local") good.

Finally, we may distinguish factors that derive their significance from their probable long-term impact on behavior from those with short-term impact. As regards this dimension of data implications, three of the aforementioned factors -- Soviet exposure, ministry or service affiliation, and personal affiliation -- are more or less ambiguous, depending on how long an individual was exposed to the factor. Party or military position may be expected to have a relatively short-term impact on perceptions and behavior. All other factors should satisfy our need for indicators with greater viability and influence. Let us therefore examine personnel shifts from 1956-1958 to 1971-1972 primarily in terms of factors for which the data (1) are available and relatively specific; (2) suggest loyalty primarily to a corporate group and secondarily to a personality; (3) are primarily suggestive of local loyalties; and (4) have long-term significance for interest-group behavior.

The indicators of Korean War participation, field-army affiliation, military-regional affiliation, Party-military position, ministry or service affiliation (the nation-building and bureaucratic-politics schools), professional function (commander versus commissar), and generational affiliation fulfill at least three of those four characteristics.

III. INDICATORS OF MILITARY AND CIVIL INTEREST GROUPS, 1956-1972

INTRODUCTION

This section summarizes data on Chinese military and civil elite shifts between 1956 and 1972. In brief, the researcher assumed that formal position in the military and civil hierarchies reflects political power, and that approximately 1,400 positions (400 military and 1,000 civilian) are the most significant in reflecting the distribution of both formal and informal political power in China.²⁴ One problem was to determine time periods when occupancy of those positions was relatively stable. Another task was to analyze each incumbent's career for salient indicators of possible interest groups in his case (generation, provincial origin, field-army affiliation, military-regional tenure, professional-functional experience, etc.).²⁵ A third problem was to collate those indicators by some means that would prove the existence of an interest group or "political party."

Four time periods were selected for analysis of key positions. The first, 1956-1958, was the climax of the influence of P'eng Te-huai, the Minister of Defense who had led the PLA for most of its campaigns in Korea and fostered the modernization of the armed forces under Soviet auspices and according to Soviet forms and procedures. By 1956-1958, leaders and units had returned from Korea, and the tumult of the Korean War period at home had subsided to the extent that, by September 1958, the Eighth Party Congress could be held. Late 1958 is thus a period when a temporary compromise had been reached over many controversies that had divided factional decisions about personnel assignments, crisis management, and domestic and foreign policies. The 1956-1958 distribution of power among assumed interest groups is therefore taken as a base against which all later changes are measured.

The second period examined is 1965-1966. Between 1958 and 1966, the purge of P'eng Te-huai, the "Great Leap" experiment in economic development, the "Socialist Education Campaign," and the "Learn from the PLA Campaign" had reflected turmoil in policy and the pace and

style of administration. Personnel changes during those eight years were one means by which contending interest groups could express their preferences and could measure their defeat or victory over issues in the bureaucratic controversy. By late 1965, however, in spite of those personnel changes, the failure of the domestic political conflict system to satisfy the personal preferences of Mao Tse-tung generated a new convulsion, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The period of relative calm, before the GPCR launched its round of new personnel appointments, provides the analyst with an opportunity to compare its initial hierarchy with the base period.

The third period for elite analysis follows the end of the GPCR and the era immediately after the Ninth Party Congress of April 1969. Despite the fact that the congress was a compromise slate of political leaders, it clearly reflected a new set of working solutions to the problems of policy, pace, and style that had beset the bureaucracy during the GPCR. Temporarily, the personnel shifts that had taken place in that troubled time promised to remain fixed long enough for leaders of contending interest groups to review their relative political status before there would be another round of material and human resource allocations.

By the late summer of 1971, the 1969 compromise clearly had all but collapsed. The domestic and foreign issues of priority of threat (both internal and external), correct resource allocations (among contending weapons systems, among industrial sectors, among geographic areas), and administrative pace and style had generated a new round of personnel changes, which culminated in the removal of the defense minister and heir apparent to Mao, Lin Piao, in September. Although this study focuses on shifts in the summer of 1971, later data having proved too unreliable, it is clear that 1971 was not a period of calm. Another period, perhaps 1973-1974, is likely to provide a stabler hierarchy, more suitable for comparison with the 1969 leadership. Nevertheless, post-1969 shifts will be plotted here to demonstrate changes that were taking place among the contending interest groups.

The problem of collating the data for purposes of identifying interest groups was simplified by earlier studies, and by the fact that personnel assignments in 1956-1958 still reflected recent political-military history. That is to say, certain regions of China had been conquered by specific field armies during the civil war (1945-1950), and military as well as civil leaders of those field armies thereafter had assumed military or civil roles in their new administrative regions and had settled down to the problem of governing. During the Korean War period, some shifts in civilian leadership took place in the continuing effort to centralize Communist authority over the proliferating bureaucracy. Nevertheless, by 1956-1958, it seems probable that five major subelites still governed new geographic base areas, now divided into military regions and provinces. As a device for collating data, it was therefore decided to organize biographical material first into charts that would show personnel shifts in each of the five geographic base areas.

MILITARY INTEREST GROUPS

Despite the claims of many analysts that the principal axis of conflict in China is formed by the Party and the military, research supports the thesis that "the military" is not a monolith but consists of at least five major interest groups, to which (we postulate) members probably pledge about the same loyalty that a Democratic leader with comparable responsibility pledges to the Democratic Party in the United States. For the purpose of explaining personnel shifts (and possibly factional politics) within the military over the thirteen years under study, several lines of political cleavage have been examined. We will describe, in order of persuasiveness, the statistics pertaining to the most important indicators of interest-group affiliation.

Field Army "Parties"?

The Center. The first indicator of interest-group behavior that we will examine is the field-army affiliation of military leaders. Chart D portrays personnel shifts that have occurred in Peking over the thirteen-year period 1958-1971. In 1956-1958, among a total of nearly

Chart D
CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS AT THE CENTER, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total		2 of Total
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
1956-58	12	12	17	17	6	6	24	24	5	5	9	9	26	26	98	98	100
1956-58 Changes to	2	3	8	9	2	7	9	16	2	2	3	0	24	11	50	50	0
1966 New Total	13	13	18	18	11	11	31	31	5	5	6	6	15	15	98	98	100
1966 Changes to	10	2	10	4	4	5	12	16	2	3	0	1	14	24	52	55	3
1969 New Total	5	5	12	12	12	12	35	34	6	6	7	7	25	24	102	102	100
1969 Changes to	1	1	0	5	2	2	2	7	0	1	1	0	22	14	28	30	2
1971 New Total	5	5	17	16	12	12	40	38	7	7	6	6	17	16	104	104	100

one hundred leaders, what we may call the Fourth Field Army "party" was represented by about twenty-four men, or about 24 percent of the total. The next largest group represented the Second Field Army, with about 17 percent. Men in the "unknown" category occupied about 26 percent of the total number of key military positions.

Between 1958 and 1966, fifty military leaders at the Center disappeared, while fifty men were added. As might be expected, since Lin Piao, former commander of the Fourth Field Army, was in office as minister of defense for most of those eight years, seven of those added were Fourth Field Army representatives, to give the Fourth 31 percent of the total. The Third also added five people.

Between 1966 and 1969, during the Cultural Revolution, the Fourth Field Army party continued to gain, attaining 35 percent of the positions at the Center at the expense mainly of the First and Second field armies. This process continued through the summer of 1971, when the Fourth reached a high of 40 percent of the central military elite.

The First Field Army Power Base. Chart E portrays shifts which occurred in the First Field Army base area between 1956 and 1972. That base area was assumed to consist of the Lanchou and Sinkiang military regions, China's northwest, where approximately thirty-eight key military positions were examined.

For 1956-1958, our data failed to yield the names of so many of the incumbents that affiliation with field armies was "unknown" in 50 percent of the total elite. Four leaders had developed their careers in the Fourth Field Army; the remainder are considered representatives of the First.

The chart suggests that the time of greatest instability was the eight-year period 1958-1966, when a total of forty-eight men moved. This instability, however, is more apparent than real because, of the twenty-seven seeming "disappearances," twenty-three were positions from the "unknown" category for which data on the incumbents had become available. It is clear that the majority of the new appointees were former First Field Army representatives, who continued to dominate the First Field Army base area, especially the Lanchou Military Region

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met	-	+ Met
1966-68 TOTAL																
Lanchow NR		15		0		0		4		0				19		38
Kansu MD		4												7		11
Kansu MD		1												4		5
Ninghsia MD																
Shensi MD								4						2		6
Tsinghai MD		2												4		6
Tsinghai MD		8												2		10
1968																
Lanchow NR	1	6	1	1								6	-6		7	0
to Kansu MD	2	2	1	1								4	1	-3	4	0
1968																
Ninghsia MD	2	2					1	1				5	2	-3	5	0
Shensi MD	1	1	1	1	1	1						2	-2		3	0
Tsinghai MD	2	4	1	1			2	2				4	-4		6	0
Sinkiang NR							1	1				2	2	-0	2	1
TOTAL CHANGES	4	15	3	3	1	1	4	4				23	5	-18	27	1
NEW TOTAL	26	26	3	3	1	1	8	8			0			0		38
1966-68 TOTAL																
Lanchow NR	1	1					1	1							2	2
to Kansu MD	2	0										1	3	2	3	0
1969																
Ninghsia MD	1	3			1	1	1	-1				2	-2		4	0
Shensi MD	3	2	1	0	1	-1	1	1		1	1	1	1		5	0
Tsinghai MD	2	3					2	-2				1	1		4	0
Sinkiang NR	6	0					1	1		1	1	2	2		6	0
TOTAL CHANGES	15	9	1	0	1	0	3	5	2	2	2	3	7	4	24	0
NEW TOTAL	20	20	2	2	1	1	9	9			0					
1969																
Lanchow NR	1	-1			1	1	1	1							1	2
to Kansu MD	1	1										3	3	0	4	0
1971																
Ninghsia MD	1	-1													1	-1
Shensi MD	2	-2			2	2	1	1	1	-1		1	1	0	4	0
Tsinghai MD	2	-2										2	2		2	0
Sinkiang NR	1	1			1	1	1	-1				1	-1		3	2
TOTAL CHANGES	8	2	-6	-6	4	4	1	2	1	1		5	6	1	15	16
NEW TOTAL	14	14	2	2	5	5	10	10			0			5		37
1971-72 TOTAL	38	38	5	5	13	13	27	27						13		

headquarters, the Kansu Military District, and the Sinkiang Military Region headquarters. During this eight-year period, however, Fourth Field Army representatives doubled in these headquarters, with the Fourth Field Army party gaining majority status in the Shensi and Tsinghai military districts. Thus, by the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the Fourth was the principal contender with the First for key positions in two of the provincial military districts, the one closest to Peking and one in the mountains of Tsinghai.

During the Cultural Revolution, erosion of First Field Army representation continued. In 1969, having lost six representatives in the base area, the First held about 50 percent of all key military positions. By that time, the Fourth had added one more representative, thus holding about 25 percent of the total. The turnover during this period was high: 63 percent of the thirty-eight positions.

After the GPCR, First Field Army power continued to suffer erosion, the chief gainer being the Third Field Army with four new representatives, rather than the Fourth, which gained only one representative. As a result of the shifts in personnel for the region as a whole, the First Field Army retained only 40 percent of all key military positions, with the Fourth holding about 26 percent, and the Third about 14 percent. The First was still dominant in Lanchow Military Region headquarters, but had lost control of Sinkiang Military Region headquarters (with only two representatives remaining). Thanks in part to the appointment of Lung Shu-chin, a Fourth Field Army representative, the Fourth had gradually filled a majority of the Sinkiang headquarters' positions with its people.

The Second Field Army Power Base. Chart F suggests the persistent erosion of the power of the Second Field Army in its own base area during the thirteen-year period 1958-1971.

Beginning with a 65 percent majority of the fifty-eight key positions in the base area in 1956-1958, the probability exists that most of the "unknowns" in the Kunming and Chengtu military regions were also Second Field Army representatives. It is less likely that the six "unknowns" in the Wuhan Military Region headquarters were Second Field Army

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknowns		Total		
	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+
1956-58																	
Chengtu MR																	
Tibet MD																	
Kunming MR																	
Kweichow MD																	
Yunnan MD																	
Hubei MR																	
Honan MD																	
Hupoh MD																	
TOTAL	0	0		38	0		2		1		0		17				58
% OF TOTAL	0	0															
1958-66																	
Chengtu MR																	
Tibet MD																	
Kunming MR																	
Kweichow MD																	
Yunnan MD																	
Hubei MR																	
Honan MD																	
Hupoh MD																	
TOTAL CHANGES	3	3		20	2		2		2		1		26				37
NEW TOTAL	3	5		41	2		4		4		2		6				58
1966-69																	
Chengtu MR																	
Tibet MD																	
Kunming MR																	
Kweichow MD																	
Yunnan MD																	
Hubei MR																	
Honan MD																	
Hupoh MD																	
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1		26	1		1		1		1		3				31
NEW TOTAL	3	5		26	3		5		5		2		9				57
1969-71																	
Chengtu MR																	
Tibet MD																	
Kunming MR																	
Kweichow MD																	
Yunnan MD																	
Hubei MR																	
Honan MD																	
Hupoh MD																	
TOTAL CHANGES																	
NEW TOTAL																	

affiliates, since the Fourth Field Army had been dependent on the line of communications through Wuhan, Hupeh, and Honan during the civil war and had probably left some of its representatives in those headquarters.

The picture was clarified during the next eight years, when every field army party sent at least one representative to the base area. But the Second Field Army maintained its lead, with over 70 percent of the key military positions in 1966; only the Fourth offered any challenge to its authority, principally in Tibet.

During the GPCR, the picture changed radically. The Second Field Army lost fifteen representatives, retaining less than 50 percent of the key positions in the entire base area. Its losses to the Fourth Field Army were especially noteworthy in the Chengtu and Tibet headquarters. By 1969, the Fourth Field Army party had increased its representation to about 23 percent of the total of fifty-seven positions.

Reflecting the emergence of younger men, whose biographies do not permit a reliable judgment about field-army affiliation, personnel shifts during the post-GPCR period brought eight new "unknowns" into the Second Field Army base area, raising the total to seventeen by the summer of 1971. The Second Field Army lost six more representatives (thus being reduced to about 35 percent of the total elite); the Third Field Army added two; and the Fourth lost three, its position in Tibet threatened by new appointees. Discounting the "unknowns," the conflict between the Second and the Fourth Field Army elites was most evident in Chengtu, Kunming, and Tibet.

The Third Field Army Power Base. In contrast to the First, Second, and Fifth, the Third Field Army party managed to sustain its relative power in its own base area throughout the thirteen-year period. Beginning with more than 60 percent of the total key military positions in 1956-1958 (and probably holding many of the unknown positions at the same time), the Third Field Army, as Chart G shows, clearly dominated in its base area. During the next eight years, while Lin Piao was attempting to place his people in key positions all over the country, the Fourth Field Army succeeded in adding only four new leaders to the area, half as many as the Third, which ended the period prior to the GPCR with 77 percent of all military elite positions. The Fourth apparently gained stronger dominance

Chart G
CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE THIRD FIELD ARMY BASE AREA, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
	Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total	
1956-58 Fochou MR																
Fukien MD			1		4										5	
Kiangsi MD					3										3	
Nanking MR	1				9		3								1	
Anhui MD					6										1	
Chiang MD					5										1	
Kiangsu MD					4										2	
TOTAL	1	2	1	2	32	61	3	5	0	0	0	0	15	30	52	100
1958-66 Fochou MR	1	1	1	-1	3	3	2	2					5	-5	6	0
Fukien MD					2	4	2						2	-2	4	0
Kiangsi MD					1	3	2	1					1	-1	2	0
Nanking MR					1	1	0	1					3	-3	4	0
Anhui MD					1	2	1						1	-1	1	0
Chiang MD			1	1	2	2	0						2	1	4	0
Kiangsu MD	1	1	1	0	7	15	8	1	5	4			14	1	23	0
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1	1	0	15	28	10	9	6	4			24	1	37	0
NEW TOTAL	2	4	2	2	47	89	13	14	0	0	0	0	39	31	89	100
1966-69 Fochou MR	1	-1			3	2	-1	2	2				1	1	4	0
Fukien MD					2	2	0						1	1	2	1
Kiangsi MD					3	3	0	3	1	-2					6	-1
Nanking MR			1	1	3	3	0								3	4
Anhui MD					3	2	-1								1	-1
Chiang MD					5	4	-1						1	1	5	0
Kiangsu MD			1	-1	2	2	0						1	2	4	0
TOTAL CHANGES	1	-1	1	0	15	18	-3	3	3	0			4	3	27	0
NEW TOTAL	1	2	3	2	62	107	11	17	3	0	0	0	43	34	116	100
1969-71 Fochou MR					2	1	-1	2	2				1	-1	3	0
Fukien MD					1	2	1						1	-1	2	0
Kiangsi MD					3	1	1								1	1
Nanking MR	1	1			3	2	-1						1	1	3	0
Anhui MD					1	1	0								1	0
Chiang MD					3	3	0								5	0
Kiangsu MD	1	1	0	0	10	10	0	2	2				4	3	16	15
TOTAL CHANGES	1	2	0	0	19	24	0	4	4				7	6	31	2
NEW TOTAL	2	4	3	2	81	131	11	21	7	0	0	0	50	40	147	100

in Kiangsi Military District during this period, where it already held a majority of the top military jobs.

During the GPCR, the Fourth Field Army continued to build its strength in the Fuchou Military Region headquarters, but lost strength elsewhere, especially in its Kiangsi base. The Third Field Army emerged from this period of tumultuous change with minimal losses (a net loss of three people) to retain 71 percent of the top military positions.

The post-GPCR period witnessed the fewest changes (expressed as a percentage of the total elite), although the Fourth Field Army continued to reinforce its position in Fuchou Military Region headquarters with two more appointments, which gave it the majority there. Elsewhere, however, the Third retained its control, with about 69 percent of the total military elite positions by the late summer of 1971.

The Fourth Field Army Power Base. Holding majority military elite power in 1956-1958 in the Shenyang and Canton military regions (cf. Chart H), with 70 percent of the sixty-one positions examined, the Fourth Field Army party controlled two of the most powerful and wealthy military regions. During the next eight years, representatives from other field armies arrived, and members of the Second Field Army replaced three of the Fourth in the Shenyang Military Region headquarters. Nevertheless, the Fourth enjoyed a slight percentage increase in its overall representation during this period, when its representatives quietly invaded other base areas. During the GPCR, if we assume that "unknown" replacements were not from the Fourth, the latter suffered a net loss of four positions. The addition of unknowns in Hunan, Kwangsi, Liaoning, and Kirin meant the potential erosion of its power. That erosion had continued into 1971, with the loss of an additional five leaders, who were replaced by four unknowns. By the late summer of 1971, the Fourth thus held about 57 percent of all military positions in the two military regions.

The Fifth Field Army Power Base. Chart I portrays shifts among representatives of the North China (or Fifth) Field Army party during the thirteen-year period under investigation. In the base area of the Fifth (the Peking, Inner Mongolia, and Tsinan military regions), the 1956-1958

Chart B
CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE FOURTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+	of	Met	-	+	of	Met	-	+	of	Met	-	+	of	Met
1966-68 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL	0	0	0	3	5	1	1	42	70	1	1	0	0	14	21	61
1968-69 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL CHANGES	3	5	1	4	3	2	2	19	21	2	1	0	0	11	4	23
NEW TOTAL	3	5	1	7	8	3	3	61	91	3	2	0	0	25	25	84
1969-70 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL CHANGES	2	2														
NEW TOTAL	5	7	1	7	8	3	3	61	91	3	2	0	0	25	25	86
1970-71 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL CHANGES	3	3	4	2	-2	1	-1	21	17	-4	0	0	1	10	9	30
NEW TOTAL	8	10	5	9	6	4	2	82	108	0	0	0	0	35	34	116
1971-72 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL CHANGES	0	0	0	4	6	2	2	40	36	-4	0	0	0	16	20	62
NEW TOTAL	8	10	5	13	12	6	4	122	144	0	0	0	0	51	54	178
1972-73 Canton ME																
Runan MD																
Kwangsi MD																
Kwangtung MD																
Shenyang ME																
Heilungkiang MD																
Kirin MD																
Liaoning MD																
TOTAL CHANGES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEW TOTAL	8	10	5	13	12	6	4	122	144	0	0	0	0	51	54	178

Chart I
CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE NORTH CHINA FIELD ARMY BASE AREA, 1956-1971

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Central	Unknown	Total
$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total	$\frac{\%}{- + \text{Mat}}$ Total
1956-58 Peking MR							
Hopsh MD							
I.M. MD							
Shensi MD							
Teinan MR							
Shantung MD							
TOTAL	2	4	2	4	0	20	45
1956-66 Peking MR							
Hopsh MD	3	3	2	2		7	8
I.M. MD							
Shensi MD							
Teinan MR							
Shantung MD							
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1	1	1		4	5
NEW TOTAL	3	6	8	9	0	24	53
1966-69 Peking MR							
Hopsh MD	2	2	1	1		2	7
I.M. MD							
Shensi MD	1	1					
Teinan MR							
Shantung MD							
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1	1	1		4	5
NEW TOTAL	3	6	11	11	0	28	66
1969-71 Peking MR							
Hopsh MD							
I.M. MD							
Shensi MD							
Teinan MR							
Shantung MD							
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1	1	1		4	5
NEW TOTAL	2	5	17	23	0	37	67
1969-71 Peking MR							
Hopsh MD							
I.M. MD							
Shensi MD							
Teinan MR							
Shantung MD							
TOTAL CHANGES	0	1	4	10		2	16
NEW TOTAL	2	6	14	33	0	41	93

distribution of personnel in key military positions reflected the dominance of the Fifth, if we discount the "unknown" positions. During the next eight years, five occupants of the "unknown" positions in the Tsinan Military Region turned out to be Third Field Army affiliates, as might be expected from a reading of the history of that field army. Thus, the power of the Fifth in that military region proved to be concentrated at MR headquarters, while the Shantung Military District fell under the domination of Third Field Army representatives. Nevertheless, the Fifth Field Army party held nearly 50 percent of the total of about forty-five key positions. It is worth noting that, even during the GPCR, the Fourth Field Army failed to make headway against the Fifth, which actually increased its representation by two. Indeed, of all the base areas, those of the Fifth Field Army enjoyed the greatest stability during the GPCR, if judged by the relative distribution of power at the end of that period. In terms of total turnover, however, like all other base areas, this one experienced the removal and replacement of approximately 50 percent of its members.

During the post-1969 period, shifts of personnel brought a dramatic decline in the fortunes of the Fifth Field Army party. By the summer of 1971, a net loss of nine representatives, principally in the Peking Military Region, was balanced by the appointment of eight men of unknown affiliation. This trend left the representatives of the Fifth with a thin plurality of about 33 percent of all positions in late 1971. Peking, especially, had become the battleground for coalition among representatives of the five field armies.

Military Regional Parties

Is it possible that each military region has developed its own interest group, wherein loyalties are much stronger than those among former field-army comrades? Certainly, it is worth postulating that those older field-army loyalties may have found a new focus in the self-serving bureaucratic systems of each military region.

To test these hypotheses, we examined the shift of military leaders according to the latter's apparent affiliation with each military region.

We treated as "Insiders" those whose careers since 1954 had been spent principally, if not exclusively, in the military region under examination. "Outsiders" were men whose careers since 1954 had been spent in some other military region.

Chart J summarizes our findings for those officers for whose careers we have adequate data. (Thus, the figures do not include "unknown" categories.) The relative independence or self-sufficiency of a military region is reflected on Chart J by the extent to which personnel changes, both disappearances and additions, involved "Insiders" and resulted in a net gain (or loss) of "Insider" representation. A high degree of independence might thus be reflected in a high "Outsider" disappearance rate matched by a high "Insider" replacement rate, which would mean a concentration of "Insiders" in the military regional elite.

The data indicate that the Center had become a battleground for Outsiders as early as 1966. During the preceding eight years, a net addition of twenty Outsiders had already reflected a process whereby men who had made their careers at the Center of the PLA high command were being pushed aside by men whose careers had been concentrated in the regions. The continuation of this process through 1971 found the new 1971 central military elite composed of nearly 60 percent Outsiders and 40 percent Insiders, a notable reversal of the situation of 1956-1958, when Insiders had occupied 66 percent of the key positions. Chart J shows the preponderance of replacements from Outsiders, who constitute 77 percent of the total number of men brought into key positions in Peking from 1958 to 1971.

In the First Field Army base area (Lanchou and Sinkiang MRs), Lanchou has clearly retained greater freedom from outside elite invasion than Sinkiang. In Lanchou, more than 60 percent of the losses as well as the replacements came from Insiders, so that, in late 1971, Insiders still retained 68 percent of the key military positions, whereas Sinkiang Military Region had gone from 100 percent Insider representation in 1956-1958 to a mere 29 percent.

In the Second Field Army base area (Chengtu, Kunming, and Wuhan MRs), the Fourth Field Army offensive (described in the previous section and

Chart J

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>Center</u>	1956-1958	<u>48</u> (66%)	<u>25</u> (34%)		
	1966	minus 18	minus 8	plus 9	plus 28
	1969	11	27	9	22
	1971	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>17</u>
	Total Changes*	31 (44%)	39 (56%)	21 (23%)	57 (77%)
	New Totals	<u>38</u> (42%)	<u>53</u> (58%)		
<u>1st FA Power Base</u> Lanchou MR	1956-1958	<u>10</u> (100%)	<u>0</u>		
	1966	minus 4	minus	plus 17	plus 4
	1969	9	4	8	4
	1971	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	Total Changes*	19 (80%)	5 (20%)	26 (67%)	13 (33%)
	New Totals*	<u>17</u> (68%)	<u>8</u> (32%)		
Sinkiang MR	1956-1958	<u>8</u> (100%)	<u>0</u>		
	1966	minus	minus	plus	plus
	1969	6		1	1
	1971	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	Total Changes*	7 (88%)	1 (12%)	1 (14%)	6 (86%)
	New Totals*	<u>2</u> (29%)	<u>5</u> (71%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart J (continued)

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
2d FA Power Base Chengtu MR	1956-1958	<u>12</u> (80%) minus 5 8 2 <u>15</u> (88%)	<u>3</u> (20%) minus 2 <u>2</u> (12%)	plus 5 7 <u>12</u> (70%)	plus 2 2 1 <u>5</u> (30%)
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	9 (60%)	<u>6</u> (40%)	12 (70%)	5 (30%)
Kunming MR	1956-1958	<u>14</u> (67%) minus 9 8 3 <u>20</u> (87%)	<u>7</u> (33%) minus 2 1 <u>3</u> (13%)	plus 10 3 1 <u>14</u> (61%)	plus 5 2 2 <u>9</u> (39%)
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	8 (38%)	<u>13</u> (62%)	14 (61%)	9 (39%)
Wuhan MR	1956-1958	<u>12</u> (80%) minus 6 10 4 <u>20</u> (87%)	<u>3</u> (20%) minus 2 1 <u>3</u> (13%)	plus 9 6 1 <u>16</u> (67%)	plus 3 3 2 <u>8</u> (33%)
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	8 (50%)	<u>8</u> (50%)	16 (67%)	8 (33%)

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart J (continued)

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>3d FA Power Base</u> Fuchou MR	1956-1958	7 (88%)	1 (12%)		
	1966	minus 2	minus 2	plus 7	plus 5
	1969	7	5	3	2
	1971	3		4	2
	Total Changes * New Totals	12 (63%) 9 (75%)	7 (37%) 3 (25%)	14 (61%)	9 (39%)
Nanking MR	1956-1958	23 (96%)	1 (4%)		
	1966	minus 5	minus 1	plus 8	plus 2
	1969	13	1	12	
	1971	8		6	1
	Total Changes * New Totals	26 (96%) 23 (89%)	1 (4%) 3 (11%)	26 (90%)	3 (10%)
<u>4th FA Power Base</u> Canton MR	1956-1958	22 (91%)	2 (9%)		
	1966	minus 11	minus 1	plus 15	plus 1
	1969	14	1	10	0
	1971	9	0	9	1
	Total Changes * New Totals	34 (94%) 22 (91%)	2 (6%) 2 (9%)	34 (94%)	2 (6%)

* Column A total - (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart J (continued)

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
Shenyang MR	1956-1958	18 (86%)	3 (14%)		
	1966	minus 7	minus 1	plus 9	plus 5
	1969	10	4	6	3
	1971	6	0	1	1
5th FA Power Base Peking MR	Total Changes *	23 (82%)	5 (18%)	16 (64%)	9 (36%)
	New Totals	11 (61%)	7 (39%)		
	1956-1958	17 (100%)	0		
	1966	minus 5	minus 0	plus 12	plus 3
Tsinan MR	1969	12	2	14	1
	1971	8	2	2	1
	Total Changes *	25 (86%)	4 (14%)	28 (85%)	5 (15%)
	New Totals	14 (93%)	1 (7%)		
	1956-1958	8 (89%)	1 (11%)		
	1966	minus 2	minus 0	plus 7	plus 1
	1969	4	0	4	0
	1971	6	0	2	0
	Total Changes *	12 (100%)	0	13 (93%)	1 (7%)
	New Totals	7 (78%)	2 (22%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

reflected on Chart F) over the thirteen-year period under study resulted in some reductions in the independence of the base area in personnel turnover. Chengtu Military Region, for example, suffered a decline in control by Insiders from 80 percent of key positions in 1956-1958 to 60 percent in 1971. However, Insiders accounted for at least 70 percent of both losses and replacements, suggesting that Chengtu Military Region had been able to sustain a much higher degree of self-sufficiency than either the Center or the Sinkiang Military Region. The Kunming and Wuhan military regions had a high replacement rate from Insiders (more than 60 percent), but an even higher loss rate among Insiders dramatically reversed the standing of Insiders in Kunming (from 67 percent in 1956-1958 to 38 percent in 1971), and gave Outsiders equal status with Insiders in Wuhan.

In contrast with the First and Second, the Third Field Army base area (Fuchou and Nanking MRs) retained a high degree of relative immunity to Outsider invasion during the thirteen-year period. In the Fuchou Military Region, Insider losses and replacements resulted in a slight reduction in representation by late 1971 (75 percent of all key positions compared with 88 in 1956-1958). Likewise, in Nanking, the 1956-1958 dominance by Insiders (96 percent of all key positions) was eroded slightly, to 89 percent of key positions in 1971.

In the Fourth Field Army base area (Shenyang and Canton MRs), the Canton military-regional elite retained dominance in its region throughout the thirteen-year period. A high Insider removal rate (94 percent) was offset by an equally high replacement rate, leaving Insiders with 91 percent of the key military positions in 1971. In the Shenyang Military Region, on the other hand, a relatively high replacement rate by Outsiders (principally from the Second and Third field armies) drove Insider control down from 86 to 61 percent of key positions during the period.

Finally, in the Fifth Field Army base area (Peking and Tsinan MRs), evenly high loss and replacement rates by Insiders preserved their relatively independent status, and in 1971 Insiders still held about 50 percent of key positions in both military regions.

It is worth noting from Chart J that Nanking, Canton, Peking, and Tsinan military regions were least vulnerable to Outsider penetration during the thirteen-year period under study. Lanchou, Chengtu, and Shenyang military regions suffered erosion by Outsiders, although Insiders retained a majority of the positions. Thus, the key geographic center of each major field army party remained in the hands of Insiders in late 1971, the more powerful parties (the Third, Fourth, and Fifth) having suffered the lesser erosion.

Korean War Affiliations

As suggested in Section II, some analyses derive significant conclusions from a perceived conflict between participants and nonparticipants in the Korean War. Certainly, it is possible that Korean War veterans share similar views on such matters as the role of firepower; the identity of the primary enemy; the need for professionalism, regularization, and modernization in the PLA; and a host of other issues that confront military leaders. And we must assume that today's leadership perceives today's problems through the lenses of its own experience.

Before proceeding to a brief discussion of Chart K, which portrays our knowledge of Korean War veterans in the high command, we should remind the reader that two of the field armies participated less in the Korean War than did the other three. The First Field Army leaders and their units ended the civil war in Northwest China confronted by a massive administrative problem: the subjugation of a minority populace in a hostile land. Only one corps from the First Field Army (the 1st) went to Korea. The Second Field Army sent a few corps to Korea but retained three (the 13th, 14th, and 15th) in their geographic base areas, the Wuhan, Kunming, and Tibet military regions.

Furthermore, our biographic data are not entirely reliable as we investigate Korean War experience. Thus, the figures on Chart K may be considered very conservative, in favor of nonparticipants. It would be natural for a higher percentage of Korean War veterans to have held positions throughout the high command in 1971. Percentages shown on the chart refer only to incumbents who are *known* to be either participants

Chart K

DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN WAR VETERANS IN THE HIGH COMMAND, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Participants	B-Nonparticipants	C-Participants	D-Nonparticipants
<u>Center</u>	1956-1958	27 (35%) minus 9	50 (65%) minus 17	plus 22	plus 15
	1966	20	18	16	16
	1969	1	5	12	5
	1971	30	40	50	36
	Total Changes New Totals*	47 (50%)	46 (50%)		
<u>1st FA Power Base</u> Lanchou MR	1956-1958	3 (30%) minus 0	7 (70%) minus 4	plus 2	plus 17
	1966	2	14	1	8
	1969	0	7	3	2
	1971	2	25	6	27
	Total Changes New Totals*	7 (44%)	9 (56%)		
Sinkiang MR	1956-1958	0 minus 0	8 (100%) minus 0	plus 0	plus 1
	1966	0	6	3	1
	1969	0	2	2	0
	1971	0	8	5	2
	Total Changes New Totals*	5 (72%)	2 (28%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart K (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN WAR VETERANS IN THE HIGH COMMAND, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Participants	B-Nonparticipants	C-Participants	D-Nonparticipants
2d FA Power Base Chengtu MR	1956-1958	2 (15%) minus 0 1 2 3	11 (85%) minus 5 7 2 14	plus 3 4 0 7	plus 4 5 1 10
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
Kunming MR	Total Changes*				
	New Totals	6 (46%)	7 (54%)		
	1956-1958	3 (20%) minus 3 2 0 5	12 (80%) minus 7 8 4 19	plus 1 1 1 3	plus 14 4 2 20
	1966				
Wuhan MR	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes*				
	New Totals	6 (100%)	0	plus 3 4 0 7	plus 8 5 4 17

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart K (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN WAR VETERANS IN THE HIGH COMMAND, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Participants	B-Nonparticipants	C-Participants	D-Nonparticipants
<u>3d FA Power Base</u> Fuchou MR	1956-1958	<u>3</u> (22%) minus 0	11 (78%) minus 4	plus 3	plus 9
	1966	4	8	4	5
	1969	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	1971	5	14	8	10
	Total Changes New Totals*	<u>6</u> (27%)	<u>16</u> (73%)		
Nanking MR	1956-1958	<u>9</u> (39%) minus 3	14 (61%) minus 2	plus 5	plus 5
	1966	4	10	6	6
	1969	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	1971	11	16	14	14
	Total Changes New Totals*	<u>12</u> (50%)	<u>12</u> (50%)		
<u>4th FA Power Base</u> Canton MR	1956-1958	<u>8</u> (51%) minus 4	18 (69%) minus 8	plus 4	plus 10
	1966	3	12	4	5
	1969	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	1971	12	25	15	20
	Total Changes New Totals*	<u>11</u> (46%)	<u>13</u> (54%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart K (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN WAR VETERANS IN THE HIGH COMMAND, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Participants	B-Nonparticipants	C-Participants	D-Nonparticipants
Shenyang MR	1956-1958	9 (37%) minus 3 3 2 8	15 (63%) minus 6 9 4 19	plus 7 6 1 14	plus 6 3 1 10
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes New Totals*	15 (71%)	6 (29%)		
5th FA Power Base Peking MR	1956-1958	4 (24%) minus 1 6 3 10	13 (76%) minus 4 8 5 17	plus 12 9 2 23	plus 3 6 1 10
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes New Totals*	17 (74%)	6 (26%)		
Tsinan MR	1956-1958	5 (63%) minus 0 3 3 6	3 (37%) minus 2 1 3 6	plus 5 1 0 6	plus 3 3 2 8
	1966				
	1969				
	1971				
	Total Changes New Totals*	5 (50%)	5 (50%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart K (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF KOREAN WAR VETERANS IN THE HIGH COMMAND, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions		
		A-Participants	B-Nonparticipants	D-Nonparticipants
<u>Total Military</u>	1956-1958	75 (30%)	175 (70%)	
	1966	minus 23	minus 67	plus 95
	1969	51	110	67
	1971	21	47	31
	Total Changes * New Totals	138 (49%)	224 144 (51%)	158 193

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

or nonparticipants; if the background of *all* incumbents were known, Korean War veterans probably would make a better showing.

Among leaders whose experience could be ascertained, Chart K shows, personnel shifts at the Center between 1958 and 1972 increased participant representation from 35 to about 50 percent. In all military regions except Kunming, the trendline clearly shows participants assuming greater power. The shift appears to have been most dramatic in those military regions where the field army party suffered the greatest incroachment by Outsiders.

Thus, in the First Field Army power base, participants increased their representation from 30 to 78 percent of the known leaders. In the Sinkiang Military Region, the increase was from 0 to 72 percent.

In the Second Field Army power base, the Chengtu Military Region added enough veteran leaders to increase their status from 15 percent of known leaders in 1956-1958 to nearly half of the total number. Only in the Kunming Military Region did the trendline show a reversal in favor of nonparticipants, who held 93 percent of the key positions in late 1971.

As we have seen earlier, the Third Field Army party was able to resist external pressures over the thirteen-year period by replacing losses with appointments from inside the power base. Partly as a result, and thanks to a high participation rate in the Korean War, veterans increased their representation in key positions in the Fuchou and Nanking military regions to 27 and 50 percent, respectively.

In the Fourth Field Army power base, the ability of the Canton Military Region elite to resist external pressure was perhaps one reason for the more measured increase in the presence of Korean War veterans on the staff of the military region from 31 to under 50 percent. In Shenyang Military Region, however, an influx of veteran leaders raised their representation from 37 to 71 percent, thus establishing Shenyang as one of the five military regions with more than 70 percent of its key positions in the hands of veterans. The other four are Lanchou, Sinkiang, Wuhan, and Peking.

In the Fifth Field Army power base, the Peking Military Region experienced a major shift from nonparticipants to participants, and by

late 1971 veterans held 74 percent of the key positions. The Tsinan Military Region actually lost Korean War veterans, who in late 1971 shared the key positions about evenly with nonveterans.

In the PLA high command as a whole, Korean War veterans moved steadily upward over a thirteen-year period, from only a 30 percent representation in 1956-1958 to their occupancy of approximately half of all key positions in late 1971.

Commanders versus Commissars

In any analysis of Party-military conflict, scholars invariably assess the depth of contention between the two large institutions and their leaders over various issues. There is a tendency to identify "commissars" (career military leaders whose function has focused on ideological indoctrination, loyalty, mass mobilization, etc. rather than on combat command) as "the Party within the military," that is to say, as the natural adversaries of the "commanders" on many issues. We have criticized this indicator of interest-group affiliation and behavior because it fails to consider other, probably higher loyalties (including the historical field-army and the geographical military-regional factors). Nevertheless, because of differences in the attitudes that tend to characterize the two major functions, and because the institution of the General Political Department has provided a formal career channel whereby the commissars *might* escape any claims on their loyalties through field-army and military-regional pressures, it has seemed well to trace the fate of these two categories in the shifts that took place between 1956-1958 and the end of 1971. Chart L provides such a survey.

For the military as a whole, the relative representation of commanders and commissars shifted back and forth. Judged mainly by a selection of positions by which we define the high command (see Appendix A), representation in 1956-1958 stood at 55 percent for commanders, 37 percent for commissars, and 8 percent for men whose careers justified a label of competence in both fields. This distribution of positions remained approximately the same during the eight-year period 1958-1966. Between 1966 and 1969, however, the commissars lost heavily to commanders,

Chart L

DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY GENERATIONS, COMMANDERS,
AND COMMISSARS IN THE PLA, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From								Added From								
	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					
				1	2	3	4	5				1	2	3	4	5	
<u>Center</u>	1956-58	43 (58%)	24 (32%)	7 (10%)	44 (58%)	26 (35%)	4 (7%)										
	1966	13	10	3	17	8	1										
	1969	14	18	6	21	11	5										
	1971	4	2		1	2	2										
	Total Changes	31	30	9	39	21	7										
	New Totals	81 (54%)	44 (29%)	26 (17%)	26 (29%)	39 (44%)	22 (25%)	2 (2%)									
<u>1st FA Power Base</u>																	
<u>Lanchou MR</u>	1956-58	6 (55%)	4 (36%)	1 (9%)	2 (18%)	6 (55%)	3 (27%)										
	1966	2	2		1	2	1										
	1969	8	7	1	2	10	3										
	1971	4	4			2	4										
	Total Changes	14	13	1	3	14	8										
	New Totals	14 (61%)	9 (39%)	0	1 (4.5%)	7 (30%)	14 (61%)	1 (4.5%)									
<u>Sinkiang MR</u>	1956-58	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (24%)	2 (24%)	3 (38%)	3 (38%)										
	1966	0	0	0		2	2										
	1969	3	1	2	2	2	2										
	1971	4	2			1	1										
	Total Changes	3	3	2	2	5	3										
	New Totals	5 (72%)	1 (14%)	1 (14%)	0	0	2 (100%)										

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart L (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY GENERATIONS, COMMANDERS,
AND COMMISSARS IN THE PLA, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From						Added From									
	Cdtrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					Cdtrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations				
				1	2	3	4	5				1	2	3	4	5
<u>2d FA Power Base</u>																
Chengtu MR 1956-58	5 (42%)	6 (50%)	1 (8%)	4 (36%)	6 (54%)	1 (10%)			2	4	1	1	6			
1966	2	3		1	2				6	2	1	1	4			
1969	3	4	1	4	4				1	2	1	1	4			
1971	3	1							1							
Total Changes	8	8	1	5	6	3	1		9	6	2	2	10		1	
New Totals	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	0	1 (8%)	10 (77%)	2 (15%)	0									
Kunming MR 1956-58	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	1 (7%)	8 (57%)	5 (36%)			6	9	2	3	10			
1966	3	4	3		4	5			3	2		2	3			
1969	5	5		1	3	6			1	2		1	1			
1971	5	5				4			1	2		1	1			
Total Changes	8	14	3	1	7	15			10	13		3	6			
New Totals	9 (69%)	4 (31%)	0	3 (21%)	7 (50%)	4 (29%)										
Wuhan MR 1956-58	9 (53%)	8 (47%)		5 (30%)	8 (50%)	3 (20%)										
1966	4	4		3	3	2			4	6	2	1	5	6		
1969	4	7	1	3	4	4			5	4		3	3	6		
1971		4			2	2				3				2		
Total Changes	8	15	1	6	9	8			9	13	2	1	8	14	1	
New Totals	10 (59%)	6 (35%)	1 (6%)	0	7 (41%)	9 (53%)	1 (6%)									

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart L (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY GENERATIONS, COMMANDERS,
AND COMMISSARS IN THE PLA, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From										Added From									
	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations								
				1	2	3	4	5				1	2	3	4	5				
3d FA Power Base																				
Fuchou MR 1956-58	7 (50%)	3 (21%)	4 (29%)	2 (14%)	8 (57%)	4 (29%)														
1966		4			2	2														
1969	5	4	3	1	6	5														
1971	2		1		2	1														
Total Changes	7	8	4	1	10	8														
New Totals	16 (67%)	6 (25%)	2 (8%)	2 (11%)	16 (89%)	0														
Nanking MR 1956-58	14 (58%)	10 (42%)		6 (25%)	14 (59%)	4 (16%)														
1966	5			3	2															
1969	5	9		1	11	2														
1971	5	3		1	1	6														
Total Changes	15	12		5	14	8														
New Totals	13 (57%)	10 (43%)		3 (19%)	13 (81%)	0														
4th FA Power Base																				
Canton MR 1956-58	13 (50%)	11 (42%)	2 (8%)	9 (40%)	9 (30%)	7 (30%)														
1966	8	4		4	5	3														
1969	9	5	1	6	5	3														
1971	4	5	1	6	6	1														
Total Changes	21	14	3	10	16	7														
New Totals	16 (60%)	10 (37%)	1 (3%)	1 (11%)	3 (33%)	5 (56%)														

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart L (continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY GENERATIONS, COMMANDERS,
AND COMMISSARS IN THE PLA, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From										Added From					
	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations				
				1	2	3	4	5				1	2	3	4	5
Shenyang MR	1956-58	16 (60%)	10 (37%)	1 (3%)	6 (27%)	11 (50%)	5 (23%)									
	1966	3	6		4	2	1									
	1969	4	9	1	5	4	2									
	1971	4	2			3	3									
	Total Changes	11	17	1	9	9	6									
	New Totals	16 (70%)	4 (17%)	3 (13%)	1 (5%)	7 (33%)	13 (62%)									
5th FA Power Base																
Peking MR	1956-58	10 (59%)	5 (29%)	2 (12%)	2 (12%)	7 (41%)	8 (47%)									
	1966	2	3		1	1	3									
	1969	6	5	3	2	7	5									
	1971	4	3	1	1	3	4									
	Total Changes	12	11	4	4	11	12									
	New Totals	8 (44%)	6 (33%)	4 (23%)	1 (4.5%)	11 (50%)	9 (41%)	1 (4.5%)								
Tsinan MR	1956-58	5 (45%)	4 (36%)	2 (19%)	5 (71%)	2 (29%)										
	1966		2		1	1										
	1969	1	3			2	2									
	1971	2	3	1		5	1									
	Total Changes	3	8	1	1	8	3									
	New Totals	7 (54%)	4 (31%)	2 (15%)	4 (45%)	3 (33%)	1 (11%)	1 (11%)								

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart L (continued)
 DISTRIBUTION OF MILITARY GENERATIONS, COMMANDERS,
 AND COMMISSARS IN THE PLA, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From										Added From									
	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations					Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	Generations								
				1	2	3	4	5				1	2	3	4	5				
Total Military	1956-58	138 (55%)	93 (37%)	19 (8%)	85 (35%)	109 (45%)	49 (20%)													
	1966	46	38	7	35	32	18													
	1969	67	77	19	48	69	39	5												
	1971	32	34	4	3	27	32	3												
	Total Changes	145	149	30	86	128	89	8	1	1										
	New Totals	170 (60%)	89 (31%)	27 (9%)	45 (16%)	105 (37%)	121 (42%)	15 (5%)	0											

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

who gained a net of four men, PLA-wide, while the commissars lost a net total of thirty-two men. After 1969, commissar representation continued to erode slowly while commanders continued to gain more posts. By the end of the thirteen-year period, commanders, having gained five percentile points, held 60 percent of all key positions.

An examination of Chart L shows that only one military region -- Peking -- failed to conform to that general pattern of commander ascendancy. Starting in 1956-1958, when commanders held about 60 percent of key posts in that military region, the thirteen-year period brought a marked increase in representation to men qualified in both fields, but commissars enjoyed a marginal increase of power, while commanders ended up with only 45 percent of total positions. Similarly, central positions experienced marginal reverses in favor of dual-qualified men at the expense of both career commanders and commissars, who held 54 and 29 percent, respectively, of the key positions in late 1971.

A few military regions experienced a marked increase in commander status: Sinkiang shifted commander holdings from 38 percent (1956-1958) to 72 percent (late 1971); Chengtu, from 42 to 60 percent; Kunming, from 47 to 69 percent; and Fuchou, from 50 to 67 percent. In all other military regions, commander representation increased only by between 5 and 10 percent.

Generations

It is inevitable that younger military generations should replace older ones. That such shifts must influence policy perspectives is also true. As we suggested in Section I, however, the precise significance of such shifts remains obscure, since policy perspectives and loyalties are likely to be "fine-tuned" by factors other than generational affiliation. Nevertheless, we know that general attitude patterns may be associated with generations, a subject which deserves further exploration. In anticipation of such future research, data on Chart L may provide indices of shifts in the influence of different military generations, whatever their collective attitude patterns may be.

For the PLA as a whole, the thirteen-year period under study brought a noteworthy shift in favor of the better-trained, better-educated, and technologically oriented members of the third military generation -- men who entered the Red Army between November 1931 and December 1936, and whose average age in 1971 was fifty-eight. With 42 percent of all key positions, they held a slight edge over the second military generation, whose members had entered the Red Army between May 1928 and November 1931, and who in late 1971 had an average age of sixty-two and occupied about 37 percent of key positions. It was the first military generation (in the Red Army since before May 1928, with an average age of sixty-seven) which suffered the greatest loss of status, dropping from 35 to 16 percent of total key positions between 1958 and 1971. Conversely, the third military generation more than doubled its representation (from 22 to 42 percent) while the fourth military generation (who had entered the Red Army between December 1936 and December 1940, and included many high school and college graduates from *North China*) placed a total of 8 representatives among the 286 positions sampled. It is of some interest to note the period when generational changes were greatest. Immediately after Lin Piao became minister of defense, shifts began which eventually brought the third military generation a net gain of fifty members, while the first lost five, and the second gained twenty-eight. This process of replacement of older with younger, better-qualified technocrats continued into the GPCR, when the first military generation lost forty men, the second lost twenty-three, and the third gained twenty-one. Since 1969, the process has proceeded more slowly, and by late 1971, the second generation had lost fifteen while the third had gained only one.

As one might expect, the shift in generations has been less pronounced at the Center than in the regions. Beginning with 58 percent of the total positions at the Center in 1956-1958, the first military generation held only 29 percent in late 1971. The second and third gained power accordingly, the first from 35 to 44 percent, and the third from 7 to 25 percent. Nevertheless, military regions have tended to reflect that spread of power among the three most powerful generations. Indeed, it

is noteworthy that the only two military regions which do not share such a spread are the two subsidiaries of the Fourth Field Army party, Canton and Shenyang. The fact that these two military regions, in contrast with others, registered a dramatic shift in favor of the third military generation provides some support for the thesis that Lin Piao was attempting to build a new following among a younger, technocratic elite, a process which would naturally have proceeded most smoothly in Lin's own geographic power base. In those two military regions, Canton's mixture of 40 percent for the first military generation, 30 percent for the second, and 30 percent for the third in 1956-1958 had changed to 11, 33, and 56 percent, respectively, by late 1971. In Shenyang Military Region, the third military generation moved from a 23 percent representation in 1956-1958 to 62 percent in 1971, while the first generation lost heavily, with only a 5 percent representation by late 1971. Thus, two of China's five most powerful military regions had come increasingly under the influence of the third military generation.

What about the Third Field Army power base? As noteworthy as the ascendancy of the third military generation in Canton and Shenyang is the fact that Nanking and Fuchou military regions *denied* status to that generation during the same thirteen-year period. Instead, they tended to promote members of the second military generation, who occupied more than 80 percent of the key positions by late 1971 (compared to about 57 percent held in 1956-1958).

In two other areas, where Fourth Field Army intrusions occurred during the GPCR, "youth" also seemed to make progress: in the First Field Army power base, and in the Wuhan Military Region. In the Lanchou and Sinkiang military regions, the third military generation gained greatly at the expense of the first and second. The Sinkiang figures for late 1971 need revision, because they are inadequate as regards the generational affiliation of newcomers.

In the principal military regions of the Second and the Fifth Field Army power base, the second military generation remained dominant, with about 50 percent of key positions in late 1971.

CIVIL INTEREST GROUPS

Following the same analytical strategy employed for the discussion of military interest groups, we must start from the historical fact that, after 1950, the Communist conquest of China forced highly mobile field-army parties to settle down to the tasks of local administration. Between 1950 and 1958, many military men assumed civil roles in local government and Party positions. In so doing, many of them unquestionably changed some of the perspectives that had been more appropriate to their functions as commanders or commissars concerned with combat. Nevertheless, they continued to work closely with former field-army comrades and, as we shall see, tended to recruit and be replaced from within their own ranks.

Given this broad historical context of "in-group" informal relationships, we have examined the pre-1950 career of each Party and government official with a view to making judgments about his probable affiliation with a field-army party, again without ascribing any particular weight to his emotional commitment to that party. In general, we assume that an individual will be inclined to "vote" according to the collective preferences of his "party," especially at the local and provincial levels, and that such preferences normally are articulated by a caucus of senior Party and government officials at each level, whose views are likely to be influenced profoundly by "party" representatives at the next level above.

Although in our analyses of the data we have distinguished between Party and government positions, it is clear that many individuals occupy positions in both elites. However, since we are interested in the particulars of each *position*, double-counting presents no problem; when a man simultaneously occupies a Party and a government position in the same province, we credit both positions with his background characteristics. We then take the combined strength of government and Party incumbents at all levels as a measure of field-army representation, mobility, generational representation, etc. This technique provides a measure of interest-group behavior on the charts that follow. Data assembled in the Appendixes will permit individual analysis of either Party or government systems separately.

Before proceeding to a description of our data, it is well to recall certain important aspects of each period under examination. In 1956-1958, and again in 1966, both Party and government officials shifted at all levels of China's political system. Furthermore, only a relatively small number of those officials were newly arrived from the military. That is, the most significant split between civil and military specialization occurred during the Korean War, when men either remained behind to administer China or went to Korea to fight and continue in a military career. The civil-military dichotomy is thus relatively clear-cut for the eight-year period 1958-1966.

Between 1966 and 1969, however, the GPCR brought the near-destruction of the civil Party at all levels. Likewise, civil government at the Center and at the provincial level was transformed through the device of the "revolutionary committee." First formed in the spring of 1967, the revolutionary committee temporarily displaced both the Party committee and civil government, which had previously governed in ministry and province. Revolutionary committees were top-heavy with military representatives, but they also included many former and many new civil representatives. In many cases, the careers of the newcomers are so obscure that we cannot judge their field-army background or even their source in military-regional terms. Nevertheless, the strong representation of military careerists on revolutionary committees between 1967 and 1969 tended to reinforce existing tendencies for old field-army loyalties to influence personnel appointments, for the system described above, under "Military Interest Groups," was given an opportunity to apply its organizing principles to the civil governmental and Party hierarchy. We should add that our data reflect a much higher incidence of purges among Party than among government officials during this period.

After 1969 and until late 1971, a process of "Party rebuilding" brought many newcomers into the new provincial Party committees. At the same time, revolutionary committees retained their governmental powers, with many of their military members continuing in their civil functions. From such a vantage point within the local political system, military men and a few civil officials who had not been purged during the

GPCR began selecting their own kind for membership on the new Party committees. Some men would move off revolutionary committees onto Party committees in the same province; others ended up with seats on both committees. Again, by combining statistics for revolutionary and Party committees, we have attempted to show the total impact of personnel shifts on the relative balance of power within the field-army-party system for the country as a whole.

Field Army Parties

The Center. Chart M portrays shifts among representatives of the five field-army parties on the Central Committee and the State Council between 1956-1958 and late 1971. In 1958, the Eighth Central Committee and the State Council (totaling about 360 representatives) contained an almost equal representation of all parties, with around 13 percent each. The Second Field Army had a slight edge over the others, with 20 percent of the representation on the Central Committee. However, men who had made their careers at the Center of the Chinese Communist movement and had not spent enough time with any regional group to justify our affiliating them with such a system held the greatest single bloc of votes in both organizations: 28 percent in the Central Committee and 42 percent in the State Council.

Over the next eight years, Chart M reflects the marginal changes that occurred at the Center, where the balance remained almost the same, with the Second Field Army losing and the Fourth gaining a few percentile points. Compared to the Fourth Field Army group's growing control over various regional military staffs, its increase in number at the Center was not noteworthy.

During the Cultural Revolution, however, three things happened that are worth mentioning. First, the new Ninth Central Committee lost a significant number of figures from the Center in favor of men who had made their careers in the field-army groups. In the end, only 11 percent of the Ninth (compared with 28 percent of the Eighth) consisted of Central representatives. Second, a very high percentage of the newcomers were unknowns, their careers so obscure as to permit no judgment about their

Chart M

CHANGES IN CIVIL LEADERS AT THE CENTER, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total						
	-	+ Net	% of Total	-	+ Net	% of Total	-	+ Net	% of Total	-	+ Net	% of Total	-	+ Net	% of Total	-	+ Net	Total			
1956-58 CCF (8th CC)																					
State Council	22	12		36	20		24	13		26	14		49	28				180	100		
TOTALS	14	8		17	9		22	12		21	12		76	42		2	6	178	100		
1966 CCF Changes	36	10		53	15		46	13		47	13		125	35		2	1	358			
NEW TOTALS	-3			-1			1	-1		1	-1		3	-3			9	-9			
	19	11		35	20		24	14		25	14		66	27		2	3	171	100		
State Council Change	6	2		10	14		10	32		11	22		33	67		3	1	83	173	90	
NEW TOTALS	16	6		21	8		44	36		32	12		110	42		0	0	266	100		
NEW GRAND TOTAL	35	8		56	13		68	15		57	13		156	36		2	0	430	100		
1969 CCF Change (9th CC)	15	5		38	14		34	12		23	8		31	11		85	31	279	100		
NEW TOTALS																					
State Council Change	15	1		14	25		28	53		29	24		63	32		86	86	177	283	106	
NEW TOTALS	17	5		46	12		49	18		27	7		79	21		86	24	372	100		
NEW GRAND TOTAL	37	5		84	13		83	18		50	8		110	17		171	26	651	100		
1971 CCF Changes			Assume no changes from April 1969																		
NEW TOTALS				18			34			23			31			85		229			
State Council Change	1	-1		1	0		4	1	-3		1	2	1	5	-12	1	4	3	32	15	-17
NEW TOTALS	16	1		46	13		46	13		28	8		67	19		89	24	355	100		
NEW GRAND TOTAL	31	5		84	13		80	13		51	8		98	15		174	28	634	100		

political affiliations. Finally, the Fourth Field Army clearly profited at the expense of the other four, especially the First, Second, and Fifth, all of which lost representatives, while the Fourth gained six percentile points. The Fourth also gained on the State Council, but there the main losers were the First and Fifth field armies and the Central elite -- a shift in representation that is reflected in the combined data for the Central Committee and the State Council.

By late 1971, the compromise distribution of power reached at the Center in 1969 had not been altered radically (the data do not reflect the 1971 purge of Lin Biao, to be discussed in Section IV). For the thirteen-year period under discussion, the stability of representation at the Center is a remarkable testament to the tenacity of incumbents and, possibly, to the viability of the balance-of-power system itself. In the regions, the picture is quite different.

The First Field Army Power Base. Having begun with 86 percent of the civil (Party and government) positions examined in the Lanchou and Sinkiang military regions in 1956-1958, the First Field Army already suffered some erosion of its power by 1966. At that time, Chart N shows that the Second, Fourth, and Fifth field armies and the Central elite each added between 5 and 9 percent of the total of key administrative positions.

During the next three years, the GPCR brought an even greater loss of representation to the First Field Army, which in 1969 held only 43 percent of all key posts in both military regions. At the same time, all other parties also lost power, the beneficiary of these changes being the Fourth Field Army (with 15 percent of all posts in 1969) and a large group of "unknowns" (holding 38 percent of the fifty-three posts analyzed).

The process continued after 1969, especially in the Lanchou Military Region, where by late 1971 Fourth Field Army civil representatives had added six percentile points to their status, for a total of 22 percent of the sixty posts examined, while the First dropped from 43 to 37 percent. However, the burgeoning competition between the Third and the Fourth Field Army was reflected in the rise of the Third to 23

Chart N
CHANGES IN CIVIL LEADERS IN THE FIRST FIELD ARMY BASE AREA, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+	Net	% of Total	-	+	Net	% of Total	-	+	Net	% of Total	-	+	Net	% of Total
Lanchow MR Kansu P																
1956-58																
G																
Minghsia P																
G																
Shensi P																
G																
Tsinghai P																
G																
TOTAL	24	86			0	0			0	0			0	0		28 100
Sinkiang MR Sinkiang P																
1956-58																
G																
TOTAL	7	87			0	0			0	0			0	0		8 100
GRAND TOTAL	31	86			0	0			0	0			0	0		36 100
Lanchow MR Kansu P	1	6	5				1	1			2	2			1	12 11
G	2	5	3				1	1			1	1			5	8 3
Minghsia P	3	3					1	1								
G	4	4					1	1								
Shensi P	2	2	0				1	1								
G	2	6	4													
Tsinghai P	1	9	8								1	1			2	8 6
G	4	3	-1												2	6 4
TOTAL CHANGES	12	38	26								1	1			4	3 -1
NEW TOTALS	50	71			1	1	5	5	6	6	4	4	4	1	16	59 43
Sinkiang MR Sinkiang P	2	2														
G	1	1	0													
TOTAL CHANGES	1	3	2				0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	1	7 6
NEW TOTALS	9	64			0	0	0	0	2	18	0	0	2	2	18	14 100
GRAND TOTAL	13	61	28				1	1	8	8	4	4	-1	-1	17	66 49
NEW GRAND TOTAL	59	69			1	1	5	5	8	9	4	4	4	4	21	85 100

percent of the total in Sinkiang (compared to 14 percent for the Fourth and 35 percent for the First), and in the overall claim of the Third to 12 percent of the eighty-two First Field Army base-area posts. By late 1971, the First Field Army held only 38 percent of those posts, the Fourth held 19 percent, and the unknowns held 24 percent. Over the thirteen-year period reviewed, the distribution of power had shifted against the First in favor of other field armies, all of which today are contending for the perquisites and responsibilities of crisis management in China's wealthy northwest.

The Second Field Army Power Base. A similar process occurred in China's politically tumultuous southwest, in the Second Field Army power base, as shown in Chart O. Beginning in 1956-1958 with 98 percent of the forty-eight positions examined, the Second Field Army military-political elite suffered a slight loss of power in the next eight years, as each of the contending groups gained about 2 percent of the 108 positions examined, leaving the Second with about 88 percent. As might be expected from a reading of the history and an understanding of the geographic vulnerability and resource significance of each military region, the Kunming Military Region remained relatively unaffected by these shifts, while Chengtu and Wuhan bore the brunt of the political offensive that netted the Fourth Field Army group 8 percent of the thirty-five key civil posts in Honan and Hupeh provinces.

During the GPCR, the erosion of Second Field Army power continued, particularly in Szechuan, where the Second Field Army group emerged in 1969 with only 45 percent of the twenty-seven key posts examined. The Fourth had risen to 19 percent of those posts, while the unknowns held 26 percent. The appointment of a large number of relatively younger men (see pp. 72ff.) to Kunming Military Region posts (in Kweichow and Yunnan provinces) during this period reduced the known Second Field Army power to 61 percent of eighteen positions examined. Losses in Party positions were especially heavy (see the lines preceded by "p" on Chart O), as replacements went into revolutionary committee posts (shown in lines "G" on the chart). With the forming of the Ninth Central Committee in April 1969, the Second Field Army retained only about 60 percent of all

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total	-	+ Met Total
Chengdu MR Tibet P				2												
1956-58 G				2												
Szechwan P	1			3												
" "				5												
TOTALS	1	8	12	92	0			0			0			0		13 100
Kunming MR Kwichow P				2												
1956-58 G				5												
Yunnan P				3												
G				5												
TOTALS	0		15	100	0			0			0			0		15 100
Hukon MR Hooan P				3												
1956-58 G				7												
Hupah P				6												
G				4				1								
TOTALS	0		20	95	1			0			0			0		21
GRAND TOTAL	1	1	47	98	1			0			0			0		48 100
Chengdu MR Tibet P	1		8	8							1	1			11	11
1966 G			1	4	3										1	4 3
Szechwan P			1	6	5										1	6 5
G			3	6	3										3	8 5
TOTAL CHANGES	1		5	24	19			1	1		1	1		0	5	29 24
NEW TOTALS	2	4	1	6	5			1	3		1	1		0	3	37 100
Kunming MR Kwichow P				1	4	3									1	7 6
G				1	4	3									1	5 4
Yunnan P				1	6	5									1	6 5
G				1	7	6									1	7 6
TOTAL CHANGES	0		4	23	19			0	0		2	2		0	4	25 21
NEW TOTALS	0		1	6	5			0	0		2	5		0	1	36 100
Hukon MR Hooan P				3	3	0									3	4 3
1966 G				2	2	0									2	3 1
Hupah P				5	5										1	7 7
G				6	16	10									1	1
TOTAL CHANGES	0		30	86				0	0		0	0		0	6	20 14
NEW TOTALS	0		48					1	3		0	0		0	1	35 100
GRAND TTL CHNGS	1							1			1	1		0	2	74 59
NEW GRAND TOTAL	2	2	95	88	2	2	2	4	4	3	2	2	2	0	15	109 100

Chart 0 (continued)

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total			
	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total
Chengdu MR Tibet P	1	1		9	-9					1	-1					11	1	-10
1969				4	5	1		3	3				2	2		4	10	6
Szechwan P				9	-9											9		-9
G				7	5	-7		1	2	1			5	5		9	12	3
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1		29	10	-19		1	-1				7	7		33	23	-10
NEW TOTALS	3	10		32	45			5	19				7	26		7	26	27
Kunming MR Enrichou P				6	-6					1	-1					7		-7
G				7	4	-3				1	-1					11		-11
1969				11	-11											11		-11
Yunnan P				8	5	-3										8		8
G				32	9	-23				2	-2					34	16	-18
TOTAL CHANGES	0			32	9	-23		0	0	0			7	7		34	16	-18
NEW TOTALS	0			32	9	-23		0	0	0			7	7		34	16	-18
Wuhan MR Bonan P				5	4	-1				1	1					6	5	-1
G				8	-8					1	-1					9	1	-8
1969				5	-5					1	-1					6		-6
Hubei P				8	6	-2				4	1	-3				12	9	-3
G				26	10	-16				7	1	-6				33	15	-18
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1		26	10	-16		0	0	1	1		2	2		33	15	-18
NEW TOTALS	1	5		14	75			1	5	0	0		2	2		2	10	19
GRAND TOTAL CHANGES	2			-58				-2	-3				2	2		-61		-61
NEW GRAND TOTAL	4	6		37	59			5	8				16	25		64	100	64
Chengdu MR Tibet P								2	2				1	1		3	3	3
1971				4	4			2	-2							2	4	2
Szechwan P				3	3			3	3				2	2		8	8	8
G				3	3			1	-1							1	3	2
TOTAL CHANGES	0	0		10	10			3	5				2	2		3	18	15
NEW TOTALS	3	11		22	48			7	17				8	19		42	100	42
Kunming MR Enrichou P				1	1			2	2				1	1		4	4	4
G				1	-1			1	1				2	1		3	1	0
1971				2	2			1	1				2	1		3	1	1
Yunnan P				2	2											1	1	1
G																		
TOTAL CHANGES	0			1	3	2		3	3				2	2		3	11	8
NEW TOTALS	0			13	50			3	12				6	23		26	100	26
Wuhan MR Bonan P				1	1											3	3	3
G																		
1971																		
Hubei P				4	4			2	2							6	6	6
G				3	3			1	1							4	4	4
TOTAL CHANGES	1	1		8	8			3	3							13	13	13
NEW TOTALS	2	6		22	69			3	10				2	6		32	100	32
NEW GRAND TOTAL	5	5		57	57			13	13				16	16		100	100	100

sixty-four key posts in the five provinces of the base area. The Fourth held 8 percent, and "unknowns" held 25 percent.

From then until late 1971, the Fourth Field Army bandwagon continued to roll into Chengtu, the heart of the Second Field Army party, where the combined forces of the First and Second field armies nevertheless retained about 60 percent of the key posts. Overall, by the end of that period, other field-army groups were beginning once more to dispatch representatives into the region, the Second retaining about 60 percent of one hundred posts examined, the Fourth and "unknowns" each holding about 15 percent.

The Third Field Army Power Base. Chart P portrays the evolution of power in the Third Field Army power base (Fukien, Kiangsi, Anhwei, Kiangsu, and Shanghai province-level elites). In 1956-1958, Third party representatives held about 90 percent of the eighty posts examined. Their strength was clearly greater in the Nanking than in the Fuchou Military Region; Outsiders held five of the twenty-six key civil posts in Fuchou MR, as against only four out of fifty-four in Nanking MR. Despite significant shifts among cadres during the next eight years, the chart reflects the dominance of Third Field Army representatives, showing that they retained about 86 percent of 128 posts examined. Indeed, it is clear that most of the shifts occurred *within* the Third Field Army elite.

During the GPCR, Party positions vacated (though replaced in part by new government appointees) brought Third Field Army representation down to less than 70 percent of the fifty positions examined at the end of the period. Unlike the situation in the Second and First Field Army power bases, however, no other field army profited by these shifts. "Unknowns" rose to 22 percent of the 1, many of them probably youthful Insiders, whose careers do not permit reliable analysis of field-army affiliation, although they do provide evidence of military-regional experience (see the analysis of military-regional affiliation on pp. 94-100 below). The Third Field Army civil elite thus managed to retain effective control of its personnel resources during the Cultural Revolution, the influx of Third Field Army military representatives into civil

Chart P

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Central	Unknown	Total
	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total	- + Net Total
Foochow MR Fukien P								
1956-58 G			5					
Kiangsi P	1		9					
G			3					
TOTALS	1	0	4	2	1		1	
Nanking MR Anhwei P			21	2	1	0	1	
1956-58 G			4					
Chekiang P			8					
G			2					
Kiangsu P			4					
G			5	1			3	
Shanghai P			10					
G			5					
TOTALS	0	0	12					
GRAND TOTAL	1	0	50	1	0	0	3	54
Foochow MR Fukien P			71	3	1	0	4	80
1966 G			8					
Kiangsi P	1		1					
G			3					
TOTAL CHANGES	1	0	16	0				
NEW TOTALS	2	0	37	2	1	1	1	44
Nanking MR Anhwei P			1					
1966 G			5					
Chekiang P			2	2				
G			3	2	1		3	16
Kiangsu P			4					
G			4					
Shanghai P			2	1				
G			4					
TOTAL CHANGES	0	1	13	5	2	1	-2	30
NEW TOTALS	0	1	73	6	2	1	1	84
GRAND TOTAL	2	1	110	8	3	2	2	128

Chart P (continued)

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	of Total		of Total		of Total		of Total		of Total		of Total		of Total		of Total	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
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	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	%		%													

posts probably accounting for its relative independence of action in the civil as well as the military sphere.

By late 1971, the power of the Third Field Army in the area of personnel appointments was reflected in its representation on 68 percent of all 113 posts considered. In effect, the creation of new Party positions had enabled Third Field Army Insiders to replace those who had been purged in the GPCR. (The same process was occurring everywhere else, of course, but not necessarily from within the same interest group.)

The Fourth Field Army Power Base. It is noteworthy that, in its efforts to extend its influence into other field-army power bases, the Fourth inevitably lost some representation in its own base during the thirteen-year period under review. Chart Q shows that process, beginning with the Fourth's hold on 86 percent of sixty-five key civil posts in Hunan, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Heilungkiang, Kirin, and Liaoning in 1956-1958. During the next eight years, the Fourth suffered a mild loss in its own power base, but only in the Shenyang Military Region; in the Canton Military Region, the heart of the Fourth Field Army party, it retained 83 percent of all sixty-six key positions, the Third, with 11 percent of all posts, offering the only serious opposition. In Shenyang, however, all other "parties" claimed some representation during this period, the Second (4 percent), the Third (7 percent), and the Fifth (4 percent) offering some alternative leaders. Overall, the Fourth retained almost 80 percent of the 133 posts examined in 1966.

During the GPCR, unlike the other field army parties, the Fourth managed to retain its share of power within its entire power base. In the Canton Military Region alone, however, it lost enough representatives from Party positions to emerge with only 71 percent of the forty-two posts (compared with 83 percent in 1966). In the Shenyang Military Region, on the other hand, thanks to losses among other field-army parties, it emerged with 91 percent of the key civil posts. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, only the Third and the "unknown" group could challenge the Fourth in those two military regions.

The period of greatest strain for the Fourth came between 1969 and late 1971. While it held its own in the Canton Military Region, it

Chart Q

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
	Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total		Σ of Total	
Canton MR Hunan P 1958-59																
Kwangsi P																
G																
Kwangtung P																
G																
TOTAL	0		0		4		14		83		0		1		3	
Shenyang Hailuokiang P																
MR																
G																
1958-59 Kirin P	1															
G																
Liaoning P																
G																
TOTAL	1	2	2	6	0				32	89	1	2	0			36
GRAND TOTAL	1	1	2	4	4		7		56	86	1	1	0		1	65
Canton MR Hunan P 1966																
G																
Kwangsi P																
G																
Kwangtung P																
G																
TOTAL CHANCES	0		1	1	0				2	10	1	1	1			
NEW TOTALS	0		1	1	7		11		54	83	1	1	1	2	3	66
Shenyang Hailuokiang P																
MR																
G																
1966 Kirin P	1															
G																
Liaoning P																
G																
TOTAL CHANCES	1		1	3	2		3		9	30	4	4	1			
NEW TOTALS	2	3	4	6	5		5		51	79	5	7	2	0		67
GRAND TOTAL	2	2	5	4	9		7		107	79	6	4	2	2	2	133

suffered a major reverse in the Shenyang Military Region, where it lost thirty percentile points in the two years, a gain to thirteen percent being shared between the Second and Third, and "unknowns" gaining a total of 23 percent of the sixty-six posts examined.

The Fifth (North China) Field Army Power Base. Chart R shows the evolution of power in the Fifth Field Army power base, an area which we have already shown to be heavily influenced by events at the Center. Having begun with close to 80 percent of all fifty-seven civil posts in the Tsinan and Peking military regions in 1956-1958, the Fifth suffered a major erosion of power, principally at the hands of Second, Third, and Central groups, during the next eight years. The First had already held about 13 percent of the posts in the Peking MR (Inner Mongolia) in 1956-1958, giving it statistically a status out of all proportion to its political power in the Fifth Field Army power base at that time. The continued consolidation of its representation in Inner Mongolia during the next eight years confirmed the statistical distribution but probably did not add significantly to the First Field Army party's political power at the Center. Thus, the Fifth Field Army's loss of influence during the 1958-1966 period was mainly the consequence of appointments of Second, Third, and Center representatives to key posts in the Tsinan and Peking-Shansi provincial Party and government elites. By 1966, the Fifth Field Army party held only 63 percent of the 102 posts examined, a notable reduction from the 77 percent (of 57 posts) in 1956-1958.

During the GPCR, the Fifth experienced further erosion of its representation on Party and revolutionary committees. Especially in the Tsinan Military Region, Second and Third representatives gained 31 percent of the key Party positions at the expense of the Fifth, which was reduced to 38 percent of all Party/government positions examined. But the Fifth did manage to retain about 60 percent of the positions in the Peking Military Region.

In 1969-1971, through the appointment of various cadres to new Party committees, the Fifth held on to about 57 percent of the civil posts in the Peking Military Region. Losses of the Third in the Tsinan Military Region were picked up by the Fourth, leaving Tsinan (Shantung Province) with a broad distribution of power, in which each group accounted for about 7 percent of civil positions by late 1971.

Chart R
CHANGES IN CIVIL LEADERS IN THE FIFTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA, 1956-1971

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total		
	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+
Peking MR Hopsh P																	
1956-58																	
IM P		3															
G		3										1					
Shensi P												1					
G														1			
Peking P																	
G																	
TOTALS	6	13		0			0		36	80	2	4	1	3		45	100
Teinon MR Shantung P																	
G							3		1								
TOTALS	0			1	8		3	25	7								
GRAND TOTAL	6	11		1	2		3	5	44	77	2	3	1	2		57	100
Peking MR Hopsh P																	
1966																	
IM P	1	2						1	1	5	5	1	1				
G									6	7	1						
Shensi P																	
G									1	1	0						
Peking P									1	6	5						
G								1	1	3	2	1					
TOTAL CHANGES				1	1					5	5						
NEW TOTALS				1	1					5	5						
Teinon MR Shantung P																	
G																	
TOTAL CHANGES																	
NEW TOTALS																	
GRAND TOTAL CHANGES																	
NEW GRAND TOTAL																	

Chart R (continued)

	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Central		Unknown		Total		
	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+	% of Total	-	+
Peking MR Hopah P																	
1969																	
IM P																	
G																	
Shanghai P																	
G																	
Peking P																	
G																	
TOTAL CHANGES	8	-8	5	2	-3	2	2	0	2	8	2	2	0	2	8	2	2
NEW TOTALS	1	-1	1	4	2	8	3	-3	3	-3	3	3	-3	3	-3	3	-3
Tsintan MR Shantung P																	
G																	
1969																	
IM P																	
G																	
TOTAL CHANGES	2	-2	1	-1	-1	2	12	3	3	19	3	3	0	3	19	3	3
NEW TOTALS	0	-10	0	4	10	5	12	1	1	5	5	12	5	12	5	12	5
GRAND TOTAL CHANGES	1	-1	1	4	10	5	12	1	1	5	5	12	5	12	5	12	5
NEW GRAND TOTAL	1	-1	1	4	10	5	12	1	1	5	5	12	5	12	5	12	5
Peking MR Hopah P																	
1971																	
IM P																	
G																	
Shanghai P																	
G																	
Peking P																	
G																	
TOTAL CHANGES	2	2	16	5	2	2	0	0	2	16	2	2	0	2	16	2	2
NEW TOTALS	3	6	7	13	2	4	4	4	4	30	6	10	4	4	53	10	4
Tsintan MR Shantung P																	
G																	
1971																	
IM P																	
G																	
TOTAL CHANGES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEW TOTALS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GRAND TOTAL CHANGES	2	2	16	5	2	4	4	4	4	30	6	10	4	4	53	10	4
NEW GRAND TOTAL	3	6	7	13	2	4	4	4	4	30	6	10	4	4	53	10	4

Military-Regional Parties

Chart S summarizes our findings on the mobility of civil officials among military regions. We assumed that officials who had spent their pre-1958 career in a given military region were Insiders, and that their loss after 1958 and their replacement by people coming from posts outside that region could be considered a measure of Insiders versus Outsiders.

For the civil elite as a whole, it is clear that our sample shows Insiders losing status to Outsiders during the thirteen-year period under study. The period of greatest Outsider movement was the Cultural Revolution, when Insiders suffered a net loss of 200 positions to Outsiders. (This is probably a very conservative estimate, since we are drawing on a very limited data base for our sample.) The movement of officials among provinces and military regions during the entire thirteen-year period is especially noteworthy in the statistics for the Center. As was the case with military leaders, the status of Outsider civil leaders in Peking shifted dramatically on the Central Committee and the State Council: Having held only about 43 percent of the positions examined for 1956-1958, Outsiders occupied 67 percent of key posts in late 1971. The major change occurred during the Cultural Revolution, with a net addition of nearly 150 Outsiders to the Center.

Conversely, throughout the rest of China, at least 60 percent of key civil posts in each military-regional area were still held by Insiders in late 1971, with the single exception of the Kunming Military Region (for which our data are especially limited), where the percentage was only 57 percent. On the other hand, the 1971 figures represented a widespread decline of Insider status since 1958, with the single exception of Tsinan Military Region, where Insiders went from 58 percent of known positions in 1956-1958 to 86 percent in 1971.

As with military representation, the Sinkiang and Kunming military regions experienced the greatest shift against Insiders during the entire period. In those two remote areas -- power bases of the First and Second Field Army parties -- Outsiders apparently made a firm effort to gain control of political entities that were en route to "independent kingdom"

Chart S

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVIL (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) LEADERS,
1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>Center</u> (CCP and State Council)	1956-1958	<u>203</u> (57%)	<u>152</u> (43%)		
	1966	minus 66	minus 25	plus 136	plus 38
	1969	154	23	71	187
	1971	<u>31</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	Total Changes * New Totals	251 (84%) <u>167</u> (33%)	49 (48%) <u>334</u> (67%)	215 (48%)	231 (52%)
<u>1st FA Power Base</u> Lanchou MR	1956-1958	<u>24</u> (100%)	<u>0</u>		
	1966	minus 12	minus	plus 52	plus 10
	1969	59	7	14	5
	1971	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>
	Total Changes * New Totals	71 (91%) <u>33</u> (73%)	7 (9%) <u>12</u> (27%)	80 (81%)	19 (19%)
Sinkiang MR	1956-1958	<u>7</u> (100%)	<u>0</u>		
	1966	minus 1	minus	plus 5	plus 2
	1969	8	2	5	1
	1971	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	Total Changes * New Totals	10 (83%) <u>12</u> (63%)	2 (17%) <u>7</u> (37%)	15 (63%)	9 (37%)

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart S (continued)
 MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVIL (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) LEADERS,
 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>2d FA Power Base</u> Chengtu MR	1956-1958	13 (100%) minus 5	0 minus	plus 26	plus 3
	1966	31	3	12	4
	1969	3	—	14	3
	1971	39 (93%)	3 (7%)	52 (84%)	10 (16%)
Kunming MR	Total Changes*	26 (79%)	7 (21%)		
	New Totals	15 (100%) minus 4	0 minus	plus 19	plus 6
	1956-1958	28	6	9	4
	1966	1	—	3	6
Wuhan MR	1969	33 (85%)	6 (15%)	31 (66%)	16 (34%)
	1971	13 (57%)	10 (43%)		
	Total Changes*	20 (83%) minus 6	4 (17%) minus	plus 17	plus 3
	New Totals	38 (95%)	2 (5%)	38 (85%)	7 (15%)
	1956-1958	20 (69%)	9 (31%)		

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart S (continued)
 MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVIL (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) LEADERS,
 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>3d FA Power Base</u> Fuchou MR	1956-1958	22 (88%) minus 3	3 (12%) minus	plus 21	plus
	1966	42		13	3
	1969			12	5
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	45 (100%) 23 (68%)		46 (85%)	8 (15%)
Nanking MR	1956-1958	50 (99%) minus 13	1 (1%) minus	plus 38	plus 6
	1966	64	9	18	
	1969	1		36	
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	78 (90%) 54 (100%)	9 (10%)	92 (93%)	6 (7%)
<u>4th FA Power Base</u> Canton MR	1956-1958	25 (93%) minus 9	2 (7%) minus	plus 43	plus 3
	1966	53	2	13	1
	1969	5		13	2
	1971				
	Total Changes * New Totals	67 (97%) 27 (82%)	2 (3%)	69 (92%)	6 (8%)

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart S (continued)

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVIL (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) LEADERS,
1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
Shenyang MR	1956-1958	33 (92%) minus 10	3 (8%) minus	plus 36	plus 5
	1966	56	4	15	
	1969	1	—	20	1
	1971	—	—	—	—
5th FA Power Base Peking MR	Total Changes * New Totals	67 (95%) 37 (88%)	4 (5%) 5 (12%)	71 (93%)	6 (7%)
	1956-1958	45 (100%) minus 15	0 minus	plus 49	plus 2
	1966	74	3	21	2
	1969	5	3	24	10
Tsinan MR	1971	94 (94%)	6 (6%)	94 (87%)	14 (13%)
	Total Changes * New Totals	45 (76%) 7 (58%) minus 2	14 (24%) 5 (42%) minus 1	—	—
	1956-1958	—	—	plus 13	plus 2
	1966	17	2	6	—
	1969	3	2	8	—
	1971	22 (82%)	5 (18%)	27 (93%)	2 (7%)
	Total Changes * New Totals	12 (86%)	2 (14%)	—	—

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A); Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

Chart S (continued)

MILITARY-REGIONAL ORIGINS OF CIVIL (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT) LEADERS,
1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Year	Initial Status, Disappearances, and Additions			
		A-Inside MR	B-Outside MR	C-Inside MR	D-Outside MR
<u>Entire Elite</u>	1956-1958	464 (73%)	170 (27%)		
	1966	minus 146	minus 26	plus 455	plus 78
	1969	618	63	209	206
	1971	51	6	166	46
	Total Changes * New Totals	815 (89%) 479 (55%)	95 (11%) 395 (45%)	830 (72%)	330 (28%)

* Column A total = (1956-1958) + (C-A): Column B total = (1956-1958) + (D-B).

status. The status of the Fifth Field Army in Peking also suffered disproportionately.

At the same time, the power bases of the Third and Fourth field armies experienced a relatively smaller decline in Insider influence. In the Third's, Insiders remained dominant in the key civil posts of Nanking Military Region in 1971, but lost some of their independence to Outsiders in the Fuchou Military Region. In the Canton and Shenyang military regions (the Fourth's), Insiders retained more than 80 percent of the key civil positions.

Korean War Affiliation

Although Korean War veterans have undoubtedly been entering civil posts throughout the period under study, our data on this dimension of civil cadre background do not permit us to establish any correlation between shifts within the civil hierarchy and veteran status.

The Generational Dimension

Chart T portrays shifts in representational status among six generations in China. For the civil elite as a whole, it is clear that the first generation has lost positions significantly to the second and the third, the latter alone having gained 30 percent of all key positions, according to our sample of nearly 600 men whose date of entry into the Party or Red Army is known. Since we have relatively accurate data on date of entry for the first generation, we may assume that, like their military counterparts, members of that generation probably lost even more power to the younger men. In 1956-1958, the first generation held 67 percent of all known posts; by late 1971, that figure had dropped to about 40 percent.

At the Center, in Peking's Central Committee and the State Council, the first generation gave up about 19 percent of the key positions, moving from 74 percent of the total in 1956-1958 to about 55 percent in 1971. Yet at the Center the shift to youth has been slower than in the regions, where the third generation has done extremely well at the expense of the second and the first. Thus, in the Lanchou Military

Chart T
DISTRIBUTION OF GENERATIONS AND CIVIL-MILITARY CAREERISTS
IN THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From										Added From									
	Military					Generations					Military					Generations				
	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6
Center 1956-58	259 (73%)	46 (13%)	23 (6%)	29 (8%)	190 (74%)	29 (11%)	19 (7%)	9 (3%)		14 (5%)	148	11	8	6	22	5	6	7		6
1966	75	7	4	7	41	6	9	4		3	148	11	8	6	22	5	6	7		5
1969	151	11	9	6	22	7	6	7		8	109	87	31	10	60	50	38	8		3
1971	30	2	—	—	3	1	1	2		6	9	3	2	1	—	—	2	2		—
Total Changes	256	20	13	13	66	14	16	13		17	266	101	41	17	82	55	46	17		8
New Totals	269 (56%)	127 (27%)	51 (11%)	33 (6%)	174 (55%)	70 (23%)	49 (18%)	13 (4%)	1	5 (2%)										
1st FA Power Base																				
Lanchou MR 1956-58	11 (74%)	2 (13%)	2 (13%)		1 (33%)	1 (33%)			1 (33%)		60	2	5	1	5	1	2		1	
1966	12	2	2		1	1			1		21	7	5	1	1	3	6			
1969	64	1	—	1	5	2			1		7	7	4	1	—	7	6			
1971	5	—	—	—	—	—			—		88	15	9	3	6	11	14		1	
Total Changes	81	3	2	1	6	3			2											
New Totals	18 (42%)	14 (33%)	9 (21%)	2 (4%)	1 (4%)	9 (38%)	14 (58%)													
Sinkiang 1956-58	5 (62%)		2 (25%)	1 (13%)		1	2				6		1	1	2	2	1	1		
MR 1966	1										3		1	1	3	6	—	—		
1969	10		1				2				3		5	1	—	—	—	—		
1971	1		—				—				12		7	1	3	8	1	1		
Total Changes	12		1		3 (22%)	9 (64%)	1 (7%)	1 (7%)												
New Totals	5 (25%)	4 (21%)	8 (42%)	2 (11%)	3	9	1	1												

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart I (continued)
 DISTRIBUTION OF GENERATIONS AND CIVIL-MILITARY CAREERISTS
 IN THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From *										Added From									
	Military			Generations							Military			Generations						
	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6
2d FA Power Base																				
Changtu MR 1956-58	7 (54%)		4 (31%)	2 (15%)	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	1 (12%)			1 (12%)	19	1	1	1	2	2	1	1		
1966	3		2		1	1				1	14	3	4	2	1	1	5	1		1
1969	22	1	2	1	2		2				9	3	3	1	2	2	1	3		1
1971	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	1		—	4	4	4	—	—	—	5	4		—
Total Changes	25	2	5	2	3	1	4	1		1	42	8	8	4	5	2	11	4		2
New Totals	24 (58%)	6 (16%)	7 (17%)	4 (9%)	5 (22%)	4 (17%)	8 (35%)	4 (17%)		2 (9%)										
Kunming MR 1956-58	13 (87%)		2 (13%)		1 (100%)						22	3	3	3	4	2	4			2
1966	2		2		3						12	2	1	1	1	2	4			4
1969	32		2		—		1				2	6	3	—	—	6	4			4
1971	2		1		—		1				36	9	7		5	8	10			10
Total Changes	36		5		3		1													
New Totals	13 (50%)	9 (35%)	4 (15%)		2 (15%)	8 (40%)	9 (45%)			2 (33%)	13	3	5	1	1	3	4			1
Wuhan MR 1956-58	22 (91%)		2 (9%)		2 (33%)	2 (33%)					6	3	5	1	1	1	4			4
1966	6				1						4	3	5	1	1	3	4			4
1969	34				3						23	6	5	1	1	4	7			7
1971	—				—						3	6	11	2	3	7	12			12
Total Changes	40				4															
New Totals	39 (65%)	6 (10%)	13 (22%)	2 (3%)	1 (4%)	9 (41%)	12 (55%)													

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart I (continued)
DISTRIBUTION OF GENERATIONS AND CIVIL-MILITARY CAREERISTS
IN THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From ^a											Added From										
	Military					Generations						Military					Generations					
	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both		1	2	3	4	5	6	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3d FA Power Base																						
Fuchou MR 1956-58	23 (89%)		1 (3%)	2 (8%)		7 (47%)	5 (33%)				3 (20%)	21	4	2		3	3				1	
1966	2			1		3					4	14				2					1	
1969	40		1	1		6	5					11	4	5		2	3				1	
1971	2											4				2	1					
Total Changes	44		1	2		9	5				4	46	8	7		7	4				2	
New Totals	24 (62%)	8 (20%)	7 (18%)	0		5 (24%)	4 (19%)	9 (43%)		2 (9%)	1 (5%)										2	
Nanking MR 1956-58	44 (81%)	3 (6%)	6 (11%)	1 (2%)		7 (47%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)				42	5	1	2	3	3				1	
1966	13	2	1	2		3	2	3	1		3	10	8	6		1	6				1	
1969	66	1	6			7						26	13	9		2	1				1	
1971	2						2	3				78	16	2		6	1	18	12		3	
Total Changes	81	3	7	2		10	2	3	1		3	78	13	16		6	1	18	12		3	
New Totals	41 (59%)	13 (19%)	15 (21%)	1 (1%)		3 (8%)	3 (8%)	18 (50%)	11 (30%)		1 (4%)											
4th FA Power Base																						
Canton MR 1956-58	15 (72%)		3 (14%)	3 (14%)		7 (70%)	3 (30%)															
1966	7		2			4						42	2	5	1	5	2				1	
1969	30	2	2	2		6	1	1			1	17	3	6	1	2	4	5	2			
1971	8											4	3	5	2	2	1	10				
Total Changes	45	2	4	2		10	1	1			1	63	8	16	4	9	5	17	2		1	
New Totals	33 (56%)	5 (10%)	15 (25%)	5 (9%)		6 (19%)	7 (22%)	16 (52%)	2 (3%)	0												

^a Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart T (continued)
 DISTRIBUTION OF GENERATIONS AND CIVIL-MILITARY CAREERISTS
 IN THE CIVIL BUREAUCRACY, 1956-1971

Area of Affiliation	Disappeared From *										Added From									
	Military				Generations						Military				Generations					
	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6	Civ	Cdrs	Cmsrs	Both	1	2	3	4	5	6
Shenyang 1956-58	34 (94%)		1 (3%)	1 (3%)	3 (38%)	3 (38%)	2 (24%)				39		1	1	3	4	1	1	1	
MR 1965	10				2	1	1				15	4	3		1	2	4	1		
1969	54		1	2	3	4	1	1	1		24	8	6			3	7	4		
1971	3				1						78	12	10			9	12	6	1	
Total Changes	67		1	2	6	5	2	1	1											
New Totals	45 (67%)	12 (18%)	10 (15%)		1 (4%)	7 (28%)	12 (48%)	5 (20%)												
5th FA Power Base																				
Peking MR 1956-58	40 (88%)		3 (6%)	3 (6%)	11 (64%)	3 (6%)		1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	49		1	1	1	5		1		
1966	12		1	1	3	2		1			15	5	4	3	1	9	5			
1969	73		2	2	9	7		1			18	9	7	3		6	12	2		
1971	6	2	1	1	1	3					82	14	12		2	20	17	3		
Total Changes	91	2	4	4	13	12		2		1										
New Totals	31 (50%)	12 (19%)	13 (21%)	6 (10%)		11 (35%)	17 (55%)	2 (6%)	1 (4%)											
Tsinan MR 1956-58	10 (84%)		2 (16%)		3 (75%)	1 (25%)					13				1	3	3			
1966	3				1	1	3				5	4	3		1	3	3			
1969	17		2		1	2	2				4	3	2		1	2	1	2		
1971	2	1	3			2	5				22	7	5		3	5	7	2		
Total Changes	22	1	5		2	3	5													
New Totals	10 (56%)	6 (33%)	2 (11%)		4 (35%)	3 (27%)	2 (19%)	2 (19%)												

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Chart T (continued)

[illegible]

* Italicized figures are 1956-1958 and 1971 totals, respectively, not disappearances.

Region of the First Field Army power base, our sample would suggest that the third generation now holds 58 percent of the key civil posts. If so, it would strengthen our hypothesis that Lin Piao sought to encourage the rapid advance of youth during the thirteen years of his influence. For Sinkiang, our data on civil leaders do not permit us to make useful judgments, although the little we know suggests that the second generation now dominates.

In most regions where the Fourth Field Army party either has held power or has attempted to gain in representation, the third generation seems to have been unusually successful, and by late 1971 had risen to around 50 percent representation on key civil agencies in the Canton, Shenyang, Wuhan, and Peking military regions.

It is curious to note that the civil structure of the Nanking Military Region, if we may rely on our sample for that region, has welcomed the third generation of civil leaders while denying their military counterparts the same status. In any case, however, the power of the first generation there has clearly shifted to the second and third combined, dropping from 47 percent of positions in 1956-1958 to only 8 percent in 1971.

In the Second Field Army power base, the power of "youth" in the Kunming and Wuhan military regions contrasts with the continuing hold of the first generation in the Chengtu Military Region. It will not be long, however, before the third generation of civil leaders, who already hold twice as many posts as the second in our sample, will dominate here also.

In the Third Field Army power base, the Fuchou Military Region resembles the present situation in Chengtu, in the continuing strength of the first generation and the relatively weak representation of second generation civil leaders.

The Fourth Field Army military regions of Shenyang and Canton, as suggested above, clearly have fostered the rise of the second and third generations.

In the Fifth Field Army power base, only the Tsinan Military Region still has a strong representation of the first generation.

We may conclude then that the power of the first generation is waning everywhere, with youth gaining status more rapidly in some regions than in others. It would be natural for the second generation to be seeking civil power at the Center at the same time that the third was aiming for power lower in the civil hierarchy, that is to say, in the regions.

Civil-Military Conflict

Chart T also shows the shift in status between civil and military cadres in civil roles. Nationwide, the civilians lost about 20 percent of key civil positions to military professionals between 1956-1958 and late 1971, by which time the two groups shared power in nearly equal parts. It was this phenomenal assumption of civil functions by military men that prompted many scholars to speculate about the possibility of either a military dictatorship or a new warlord period in China.

The most noteworthy aspect of the situation in 1971 was the fact that approximately 40 percent of all key civil posts were in the hands of professional military men in all except four military regions: Chengtu, Wuhan, Fuchou, and Shenyang. Compared with the 1956-1958 status of the military in civil roles, this change was a striking expression of Lin Piao's success, after 1960, in packing certain elite groups with military leaders. Indeed, the most dramatic shifts in the civil-military division of power occurred in those regions where Fourth Field Army Outsiders were most aggressive. Although they may not ultimately have attained dominance in the region, their effort demanded a countereffort by Insider military leaders (probably with the aid of Insider civil leaders), which left the region in 1971 much more firmly in the hands of powerful military men. Thus, in the First Field Army power base (Lanchou and Sinkiang military regions), the majority of civil leaders in civil posts in 1956-1958 gave way to a majority of military leaders by 1971. Likewise, in the Kunming Military Region, civil leaders lost 37 percent of the civil posts to military leaders during the same period. The statistics show that civil leaders lost between 20 and 40 percent of key civil posts to the military everywhere except

in the Chengtu Military Region, where civil leaders actually gained 10 percent!

Another theme which is revealed by Chart T is the increasing power of professional commanders in civil roles. A glance at the chart reveals that commanders played only marginal roles in civil functions in 1956-1958 in two military regions -- Lanchou and Nanking -- and shared power equally with commissars at the Center. By 1971, professional commanders (almost none with any commissar experience) were playing civil administrative roles in all military regions. Along with this trend went a lessening of ideological emphasis in many dimensions of the Chinese "style," which after 1969 became increasingly governed by "pragmatic" calculations and administrative policies. The professional commanders' rise in status in the civil sphere matched an even more dramatic shift in the military sphere, where by 1971 they held about 70 percent of all key posts.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Just how useful are our data on personnel assignments for explaining or predicting domestic political behavior in China? More specifically, to what extent do the indicators listed and discussed in Section III reveal the existence and behavior of interest groups in China over the past thirteen years?

As we suggested, the core of interest-group analysis is the discovery, among a definable, observable group of people, of a set of common values that override any conflicting values and influence their collective behavior in discernible patterns. For example, when we analyze China as a unitary actor on the global political-economic stage, we assume that her leaders share certain values of political survival that transcend their differences. In world politics, "China" thus becomes an "interest group." For greater precision in defining operational loyalty patterns we might use the "palace politics" model, in which an interest group consists of two people bound by a deep personal commitment.

A basic premise of this study has been the desirability of developing a concept midway between the foregoing extremes by which to identify interest groups whose behavior can then be observed and measured. Our strategy has been to define interest groups in terms of loyalties that: are of relatively long historical standing (and can therefore be confidently projected into the near future); have a corporate or personal rather than an abstract ideological focus (and can therefore be identified and measured more precisely than can the interplay of ideas in action); and have a local rather than a broadly national geographic focus (and can thus be related to the distinctive character and issues of specific regions within China).

Proceeding from that basic premise, our research strategy has avoided the indicators associated with the strategic-interaction, political-cultural, and palace-politics models (see Chart B for the analytical schools and the list of twelve indicators within them) while concentrating on the most useful indicators associated with the three

middle-ground schools of political analysis: the Central-regional, the bureaucratic-politics, and the generational.

Beginning with indicator 7 on the chart (Party/military position), we have defined a broad elite in terms of about fourteen hundred key positions. Using indicator 8 (ministry/service affiliation), we have distinguished broadly between civil and military roles and experience. Regarding indicator 9 (career function), we had hoped to define the civil roles of managers versus ideologues as precisely as we distinguished the military roles of professional commanders and commissars. Such distinctions, however, were not possible with the existing data base. Using indicator 2, we could identify trends in the power of Korean War veterans.

We found that, according to these four indicators, careers after 1956-1958 tended to remain stable; that is, a person who was a commander (or commissar) and was civil (or military) in 1956-1958 tended to remain so for the next thirteen years (although the Cultural Revolution brought many military careerists into civil roles after 1967). Indicator 4 (field-army affiliation), clearly the most reliable record of historic corporate affiliation, was as observable and as specific as the other three indicators. Obviously, indicator 10 (generation) also was fixed. Of the seven indicators on which we focused, the only dependent variables were 5 and 7 (military-regional affiliation and actual position).

We assumed that a gross measurement of an interest group's power would be its representation in key positions. We further hypothesized the existence of geographic loci of interest-group power, in which case a second measure of such power would be the group's success in defending its positions against outside interference.

Employing these hypotheses and the indicators of interest-group affiliation, we may explain the domestic political process in China between 1956-1958 and late 1971 as a five-party political system in transition to a multiregional system. Each party originally consisted of both civil and military figures who had served together in a field-army institutional stream prior to 1950. Thereafter and until 1956-1958,

each party established geographic base areas while seeking its share of positions of power and responsibility at the Center. Chart U summarizes the shifts in power that occurred between 1956-1958 and late 1971. Using data from 1966 rather than 1956-1958 for comparison, because those available for 1956-1958 on military positions contain too many "unknowns," the chart shows a broad distribution of power among the five parties at the Center in 1966. Indeed, our figures on Chart H suggest that, in the *military*, the Fourth party profited greatly from the seven-year tenure of Lin Piao as Minister of Defense, its representation at the Center in 1959 having been about 24 percent of all military positions.

With the exception of the Fifth, all field-army parties held at least 70 percent of both civil and military posts in their own political base areas in 1966; the Fifth had already begun suffering the effects of its vulnerable position at the Center. Nevertheless, these totals conceal the Fifth's dominance of base-area civil positions in 1958, and its representation in key posts at the Center, where Fifth Field Army representatives such as Lo Jui-ch'ing and P'eng Chen held influence out of proportion to total numbers.

During the years between 1958 and late 1971, a process of political conflict for power apparently eroded the status of all parties in their base areas. While the Third and Fourth retained more than 60 percent of the key military and civil in their own areas and attained varying representation in adversary base areas, the three other parties suffered more heavily. In the base area of the First (Northwest China), representatives from the Third and Fourth as well as "unknowns" benefited most by the losses of the First; in the base area of the Second (Southwest China), the Fourth and "unknowns" were the principal beneficiaries.

The chart shows that even the Third suffered some erosion of power in its base area at the hands of Fourth Field Army military representatives, principally in the Fuchou Military Region. However, the Fourth also seriously weakened itself by dispatching an excessive number of its military representatives to other areas. By late 1971,

Chart U

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER AMONG FIELD ARMY PARTIES, 1966-1971
(in percentages of all positions at each level)

	<u>1st FA</u>	<u>2d FA</u>	<u>3d FA</u>	<u>4th FA</u>	<u>5th FA</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Center</u>								
Mil '66	13	18	11	31	6	6	15	100
Civ '66	8	13	15	15	13	36	0	100
Mil '71	5	16	12	38	7	6	16	100
Civ '71	5	13	13	18	8	15	28	100
<u>1st FA Base</u>								
Mil '66	69	8	2	21	0	0	0	100
Civ '66	69	6	1	5	9	5	5	100
Mil '71	38	6	13	27	3	0	13	100
Civ '71	38	2	12	19	1	4	24	100
<u>2d FA Base</u>								
Mil '66	5	71	3	7	2	2	10	100
Civ '66	2	88	2	4	2	2	0	100
Mil '71	5	35	9	17	2	3	29	100
Civ '71	5	57	3	13	1	5	16	100
<u>3d FA Base</u>								
Mil '66	4	2	77	13	0	0	4	100
Civ '66	2	1	86	5	2	2	2	100
Mil '71	4	2	69	17	2	0	6	100
Civ '71	0	4	68	4	2	2	20	100
<u>4th FA Base</u>								
Mil '66	6	11	6	71	0	0	6	100
Civ '66	2	4	7	79	4	2	2	100
Mil '71	0	6	6	57	0	0	31	100
Civ '71	1	2	9	66	1	0	21	100
<u>5th FA Base</u>								
Mil '66	6	11	18	9	47	0	9	100
Civ '66	11	8	5	2	63	11	0	100
Mil '71	4	14	12	12	33	0	25	100
Civ '71	4	13	6	6	57	7	7	100

many of these people had been replaced by "unknowns," who held 31 percent of the key military posts in that base area, principally in Shenyang Military Region.

If these figures were the results of elections of senior officials in a democratic society like France or Italy, leaders of the First, Second, and Fifth parties would probably be seeking alliances among themselves lest their power be lost completely to the grasping leaders of the Third and Fourth. The latter, in turn, would be wise to take precautions to maintain unity among their own representatives. This happened in the Third Field Army base area in the winter of 1971-1972, when indoctrination teams moved about in Anhwei, Chekiang, and Kiangsu to encourage emulation of administrative techniques -- a procedure apparently unique to the Nanking Military Region.

That experience is related to an alternative thesis about the pattern of party power that we examined. Much more narrowly geographic in concept, this thesis portrays China as a political system of eleven geographic parties, which in some obvious respects share a sense of obligation to older, informal loyalty systems of field armies but now are more deeply committed to local interests. While the field army concept would have interregional and national implications (with each party sending its representatives to the Center and to other regions in attempts to seize or at least maintain its share of power), the process might be similar under the narrower concept, as each military region focused on issues "at home" and attempted to defend key positions against external invasion.

Chart V shows the nationwide status of Insiders versus Outsiders in each military region in late 1971. It offers several interesting theses. First, it seems clear that civil bureaucracy has been much more successful than the military bureaucracy in defending itself against Outsider invasion. In all except one military-regional area (Kunming), Insiders hold more than 60 percent of the available posts in the civil hierarchy. In three of the military regions (Sinkiang, Kunming, and Wuhan), at least 50 percent of the military posts are now held by Outsiders. We know that those regions were subjected to repeated invasion during the Cultural Revolution.

Chart V

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER BETWEEN "INSIDERS" AND "OUTSIDERS" IN 1971
(in percentages of elite positions)

Field Army Faction	Military Region Faction	Military						Civil					
		Insiders			Outsiders			Insiders			Outsiders		
		1956-71 Losses	1956-71 Gains	1971	1956-71 Losses	1956-71 Gains	1971	1956-71 Losses	1956-71 Gains	1971	1956-71 Losses	1956-71 Gains	1971
First	Lanchou	80	67	68	20	33	32	91	81	73	9	20	27
	Sinkiang	88	14	29	12	86	71	83	63	63	17	37	37
	Chengtu	88	70	60	12	30	40	93	84	79	7	16	21
Second	Kunming	87	61	38	13	39	62	85	66	57	15	34	43
	Wuhan	87	67	50	13	33	50	95	85	69	5	15	31
	Fuchou	63	61	75	37	39	25	100	85	68	0	15	32
Third	Nanking	96	90	89	4	10	11	90	93	100	10	7	--
	Canton	94	94	91	6	6	9	97	92	82	3	8	18
	Shenyang	82	64	61	18	36	39	95	93	88	5	7	12
Fourth	Peking	86	85	93	14	15	7	94	87	76	6	13	24
	Tsinan	100	93	78	0	7	22	82	93	86	18	7	14
	Center	44	23	42	56	77	58	84	48	33	16	52	67

On the other hand, Chart V also underscores the relative power of Insiders in eight military regions, where they held more than 60 percent of both civil and military posts in late 1971: Lanchou, Chengtu, Nanking, Fuchou, Canton, Shenyang, Peking, and Tsinan. These figures, while arguing for the possible existence of military-regional parties, also suggest the reinforcement of the older (field-army) loyalty system in those instances where leaders have been both long-term affiliates of a field army and long-term residents of the field army's geographic center of power. (The definition of an Insider in a military region would permit the mixing of different field-army representatives under a single military-regional label if they had been in the region long enough.) Specifically, it is likely that each of the field-army parties has as its geographic heart a particular military region: Lanchou (First FA group); Chengtu (Second); Nanking (Third); Canton (Fourth); and Peking (Fifth).

To what extent do our data postulate policy or "party platform" differences among the five interest groups? This question is clearly of crucial importance for purposes of prediction. It is one thing to speculate about the existence of corporate loyalties in the field of personnel assignments. It is quite another to assume that those same loyalties enter into domestic and foreign policy issues in controversy. Indeed, one of the primary results of this study ought to be a more determined effort to discover characteristic policy differences between Third and Fourth Field Army party leaders, for those leaders are clearly in confrontation today. Statistics on removals from office since the summer of 1971 show, for example, that about 40 percent of those purged have been Fourth Field Army affiliates. Before jumping to the conclusion that the Fourth is about to go into eclipse, however, one would have to examine the new appointments. Canton, for example, has not suffered a major purge, despite the fact that Lin Piao, the logical titular head of the Fourth party, was himself purged in the autumn of 1971.

Since our data are confined to people and do not draw on the individuals' statements on various issues, we cannot speculate very

effectively about the parties' ideological positions on those issues. In one field, however, that of generational succession, our data do afford a glimpse into differences among parties regarding the rate of promotion of younger people into the civil and military hierarchies.

As noted in Section III, the third and fourth generations generally received more formal education than did the second, which came principally from the peasants of the Central Yangtze Valley. Most of the fourth generation originated in North China, having begun to enter the Party or the Red Army when the Long March ended, in late 1936. The fifth generation entered the Party during the 1942-1944 Cheng Feng movement, a rectification campaign which suddenly raised the poor peasant to preferred candidate for Party membership. The fifth generation generally was not as well educated as the first, third, fourth, or sixth, the last having entered the Party and military during the civil war (1945-1950).

Chart W shows the status of those six generations in China's military and civil bureaucracies in 1971. At the Center, perhaps understandably, there is a higher percentage of second generation leaders in the military than in the civil bureaucracy, which still includes many aging leaders even of the first generation. It is noteworthy, however, that the third generation holds only about 25 percent of military posts at that level.

Among the military regions of the five field-army parties, a different picture prevails. Where the Fourth party holds traditional power or acquired strength during the 1958-1971 period, the representation of youth is striking. In the home regions of Canton and Shenyang, both civil and military leaders of the third generation hold nearly 60 percent of positions sampled. In the Shenyang Military Region, even the fourth generation already holds about 20 percent of available civil positions. In the Sinkiang and Lanchow military regions (the latter the home region for a military-political party), the third military generation also holds more than 60 percent of available military posts. In the Peking and Wuhan military regions, the thrust toward younger civil as well as military leaders also is evident.

Chart W

DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL-MILITARY GENERATIONS IN 1971*

		Generations					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Center	Mil	29	44	25	2		
	Civ	55	23	16	4		2
Lanchou MR	Mil	4.5	30	61	4.5		
	Civ	4	38	58			
Sinkiang MR	Mil			100			
	Civ	22	64	7	7		
Chengtu MR	Mil	8	77	15			
	Civ	22	17	35	17		9
Kunming MR	Mil	21	50	29			
	Civ	15	40	45			
Wuhan MR	Mil		41	53	6		
	Civ	4	41	55			
Fuchou MR	Mil	11	89				
	Civ	24	19	43		9	5
Nanking MR	Mil	19	81				
	Civ	8	8	50	30		4
Canton MR	Mil	11	33	56			
	Civ	19	22	52	2		
Shenyang MR	Mil	5	33	62			
	Civ	4	28	48	20		
Peking MR	Mil	4.5	50	41	4.5		
	Civ		35	55	6	4	
Tsinan MR	Mil	45	33	11	11		
	Civ	35	27	19	19		
Totals	Mil	16	37	42	5		
	Civ	40	23	30	4	1	2

* In percentages of the sample of those leaders whose generational status could be ascertained.

In regions where the Fourth party had less impact during the GPCR, the third generation has yet to gain from the second, which remains dominant, especially in the military field. Thus, in Fuchou and Nanking military regions, the Third party has retained older military leaders in key military posts (the majority of them second-generation members) but has permitted younger *civil* leaders to acquire power in the *civil* bureaucracy.

TRENDS IN LATE 1972

Employing the concepts of factional allegiance and behavior in China's domestic political process that have been developed in this study, we conclude by examining the statistics available as of late October 1972 for what they may tell us about domestic political problems and trends.

The outcome of China's authority crisis seems still in doubt. The accession of younger men to key civil and military posts might hasten its resolution, for it would relieve the frustration of the younger generation at the same time that it would remove some of the older leaders, with their highly personal style of local and regional politics, thus making room for the more central orientation of the class of young technocrats that Lin Piao and his Fourth Field Army faction had hoped to promote. Within the military, such a trend toward youth may be under way: Of sixty-one leaders that disappeared between May 1971 and October 1972, the vast majority were from the three oldest generations. The situation seems somewhat different in the civil sphere, however, where twenty-six (71 percent) of the thirty-five Party secretaries (out of a total number of 158) who had disappeared by April 1972 were drawn from the third and younger generations. This disparity suggests the possibility of a growing generation gap between civil and military leaders.

The political process since 1971 seems to have been marked by the purge or punishment of Fourth Field Army factional representatives, and, more broadly, to have been directed against the field-army factional system itself. At the Center, 45 percent of the thirty senior military leaders who disappeared between the purge of Lin Piao and October 1972 were drawn from the Fourth Field Army faction. None was from the Third Field Army faction; a total of 22 percent were from the First, Second, and Fifth; and 29 percent of the disappearances were from the "unknown"

column. In the provinces and military regions, given a total of thirty disappearances, 10 percent were from the Second, 17 percent from the Third, 23 percent from the Fourth Field Army faction, and 43 percent were "unknown." In the civil sphere, the majority of the 35 disappearances occurred among the Second (17 percent), Third (23 percent) and Fourth (32 percent) factions.

Simultaneously with the erosion of the field-army loyalty system we note a deepening of regionalism, as reflected in the apparent dominance of Insiders. In the civil domain in 1971, only twenty-eight of the 158 Party secretaryships were occupied by Outsiders. By April 1972, eleven of those twenty-eight (40 percent) had disappeared.

As for military disappearances, the great majority occurred among members of four military-regional affiliations: the Canton faction (of which four leaders disappeared at the Center and five in the provinces); the Nanking faction (of which none disappeared at the Center and five in the region); the Shenyang faction (of which two disappeared at the Center and two in the region); and the Wuhan faction (of which one disappeared at the Center and four in the region). Of the total of sixty-one military leaders who disappeared between May 1971 and October 1972 (about half of them from the Center and half from the regions), eighteen were of unknown military-regional affiliation, while twelve had been involved in Central politics too long to be tarred with a regional brush.

As in the past, Insiders accounted for the larger share (54 percent) of political action. However, the abovementioned small number of Outsiders among the 158 Party secretaries tends to confirm a deepening trend toward regionalism in the hiring and firing of civil leaders.

It is this trend, combined with the civil-military dichotomy, that deserves our final comment. As of April 1972, 71 percent of the secretaries removed from their civil posts belonged to the ranks of military. When the 158 Party secretaryships were first filled, ninety-seven of them were occupied by professional military men. The disappearance of twenty-five of these men (as contrasted with the removal of only eight of the sixty-one civilians) thus suggests a renewed trend toward the displacement of professional military by civil leaders in these political roles.

Most of those civil leaders still belong to the "Long Marchers," and their advanced age, therefore, would stand in contrast to the new emphasis on younger military leaders, whose commitment to the modernization of military technology might logically be accompanied by a corresponding commitment to the central administration of a better integrated, national military economy.

In the context of the succession question, which now consumes the interest of observers and participants alike, can Chou En-lai succeed in replacing the current generation of *older military* leaders in civil roles with *younger civilian* leaders? Furthermore, can he reverse the trend toward regionalism, perhaps by merely displacing age with youth? In his apparent alliance with senior civil and military leaders of the Third Field Army faction (and probably supported also by leaders of the Second), will Chou be able to put together an effective *federal* system for China's domestic political process?

Chou's strategy -- and one hardly unique in China's long history -- may be to capture the loyalty of young military commanders (as against the commissars he has long disdained) while paying homage for a while to the age of his contemporaries in the civil bureaucracy. If so, however, he will depend at least temporarily on the support of the most powerful military-regional commanders: Ch'en Hsi-lien in Shenyang; Hsü Shih-yu in Nanking; Ting Sheng in Canton. He will also have to look abroad for assistance, and trade and technology transfer from advanced foreign economies may, in turn, be crucial to his winning the support (by persuasion or coercion) of his aging allies and adversaries at the regional level, their representatives at the Center, and their youthful successors. There would seem to be little time for resolving all questions of pace, rewards, and punishments. Personnel changes must therefore remain swift, as Chou stages his last great political campaign, no doubt punctuated by many references to the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

NOTES

1. Much of this section is drawn from William W. Whitson, "Political-Military Trends in China: Five Theories in Search of Reality," a paper prepared for the Second Sino-American Conference on Mainland China, held in San Francisco June 13-16, 1972. For three collections on Chinese political behavior, see John W. Lewis (ed.), *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1970; John M. H. Lindbeck (ed.), *China: Management of a Revolutionary Society*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1971; Frank N. Trager and William Henderson (eds.), *Communist China, 1949-69: A Twenty-Year Appraisal*, The New York University Press, New York, 1970.
2. Examples of geopolitical analysis of China abound. Some of the best recent analyses may be found in *United States Relations: A Strategy for the Future*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., October 1970. A useful distilled version of those hearings is available in *A New Look at Red China*, a pamphlet published by U.S. News and World Report, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1971. One of the most recent examples of the use of strategic interaction models to explain Chinese domestic political conflict may be found in Harold C. Hinton, *The Bear at the Gate: Chinese Policy-making Under Soviet Pressure*, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, Cal., 1971.
3. For four excellent examples of predictions of militarism in China, see Parris Chang, "Changing Patterns of Military Roles in Chinese Politics"; Thomas W. Robinson, "Lin Piao: A Chinese Military Politician"; John D. Simmonds, "The New Gun-Barrel Elite"; and Ting Wang, "The Emergent Military Class," in William W. Whitson (ed.), *The Military and Political Power in China in the 1970's*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1972. For a Russian description of the same phenomenon in China, see I. Yelenin and A. Pamor, "The Militarization of Social Life in China," in *Krasnaya zvezda*, February 25, 1972, p. 3, translated in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, March 29, 1972.
4. See John K. Fairbank's testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 89th Congress, 2d Session, *U.S. Policy with Respect to Mainland China*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1966, pp. 98ff.
5. See, for example, the brilliant trilogy by Joseph R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, The University of California Press, Berkeley, 1964, especially the chapter on "Modernization as the Corrosion of the Amateur Ideal," Vol. 1, pp. 40-44.

6. For one of the finest examples of political-cultural analysis of China, see Richard H. Solomon, *Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971. See also Lucian Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1968. For a perceptive analysis of two mutually opposed philosophies and managerial styles of coping with this dilemma, see Stuart R. Schram, "Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i, 1939-1969," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 12, No. 4, April 1972, pp. 275-294.
7. See Schram, op. cit., p. 283, for this quotation of Liu's speech of June 1951.
8. For a detailed description of the evolution of each field-army system, see William W. Whitson, *The Chinese High Command: A History of Communist Military Politics, 1927-71*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1973. A summary treatment may be found in Chapter 12 of that book.
9. See, for example, ibid., Chapters 7 and 8. See also Jürgen Domes, "Some Results of the Cultural Revolution in China," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 9, September 1971, p. 937.
10. See Audrey Donnithorne, *China's Economic System*, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1967, pp. 496ff., for an analysis of constraints imposed by regional interests on central authority's powers to tax after the withdrawal of Russian advisers in 1960.
11. For an imaginative analysis of the relationship among military-regional industrial power, weapons production, and political power, see James Blaker, "The Production of Conventional Weapons," in *The Military and Political Power in China in the 1970's*.
12. For an interesting recent analysis of Maoism as a spiritual force, see James T. Myers, "Religious Aspects of the Cult of Mao Tse-tung," in *Current Scene*, Vol. 10, No. 3, American Consulate General, Hong Kong, March 10, 1972.
13. For a brief comparison of the pros and cons of the strategic-interaction versus the bureaucratic-politics school, see Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, September 1969, pp. 689-718.
14. For a brief analysis of this competition, see William W. Whitson, "Organizational Perspectives and Decision-Making in the Chinese Communist High Command," in Robert Scalapino (ed.), *Elites in the People's Republic of China*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1972. For a more detailed analysis of competing military bureaucracies, see Whitson, *The Military and Political Power in China in the 1970's*.

15. For a more detailed discussion of this theme, see the final chapter of Whitson, *The Chinese High Command, 1927-71*.
16. This section is based on Chapter 9 of Whitson, *The Chinese High Command*.
17. For theoretical evidence in support of the assumption, the author is indebted to the draft of an unpublished paper by Davis B. Bobrow on "Chinese Communist Response to Alternative U.S. Active and Passive Defense Postures," Oak Ridge, Tenn., December 1965.
18. For excellent discussions of the warlord outlook, see Hsi-sheng Chi, *The Chinese Warlord System: 1916 to 1928*, Center for Research in Social Systems, Washington, D.C., 1969, Chapter 3. See also James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord, The Career of Feng Yü-hsiang*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Cal., 1966, Chapter 1.
19. See Sheridan, op. cit.
20. The Russians have also provided representatives of this school. Note the following comment: "The closeness of personal ties between individuals and within groups was preserved in considerable measure from the period of the national liberation struggle when the Party developed in separate isolated liberated or guerrilla areas and the cadres grouped themselves around commanders or political commissars of military units." See V. Glunin and A. Grigor'yev, "What Kind of Party Do Mao Tse-tung and His Group Want To Create?" *Partiynaya zhizn'* (Party Life), 1969, No. 7, quoted in *Opasnyy kurs: po povodu sobytiy v kitae, vypusk pervyy* (A Dangerous Course: On the Causes of Events in China, First Part), Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, Moscow, 1969.
21. See Andrew J. Nathan, "Factionalism in Chinese Politics: The Case of the Cultural Revolution," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Ill., September 1971.
22. Ibid., p. 5.
23. Ibid., p. 14.
24. For position lists, names of incumbents, and sources, see Appendix B.
25. The determined reader will find an analysis of each incumbent's career in Appendix C. We have provided this information because it is crucial to the main theses of this study. Furthermore, analysts may wish to make their own judgments about the significance of each career and, possibly, arrive at conclusions different from ours. An explanation of the methods by which the individual careers were judged is included in Appendix C.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES TO THE APPENDIXES

George C. S. Sung

The Appendixes to this Report represent three major steps in the research for the present study: identifying positions, analyzing biographical data, and compiling statistical charts. The position lists were seen as offering a broad scope for biographical analysis, while statistical charts provide a basis for meaningful interpretations. Together, they are designed to contribute to a theorization of Chinese factional behavior.

The scope and method of the research require explanation. Sampling techniques were employed in selecting about fourteen hundred Chinese political and military leaders who served during four different periods: 1956-1958, 1966, 1969, and 1971. The key military positions sampled included chiefs, deputy chiefs, and political commissars of the service arms; and commanders, deputy commanders, political commissars, and deputy commissars of the eleven military regions (thirteen before 1970) and the twenty-five military districts (twenty-three before 1970). These leaders may be said to represent the military leadership adequately. Sparseness of data for positions lower than that of deputy political commissar of a military district precludes any meaningful analysis of such lower-level personnel, who therefore have been excluded from the research.

Despite readily available directories and yearbooks compiled by U.S. Government agencies and research institutions in Hong Kong and Taipei, the task of identifying persons holding several military positions was complicated by Communist China's practice of not publishing the names and offices of military personnel and of hardly ever announcing officially even a change in military leadership. The directories and name lists consulted differed in the names of some of those holding positions and in the dates that some have assumed their positions. Also, compilers frequently compounded the problem of identification by adding the names of newcomers without eliminating the names of those whom they replaced. This occurred most frequently in the deputy-level

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positions, where three to five deputy commanders or political commissars might have to be identified from a lengthy list. In Appendix A the source of identification is provided after each position.

Unexpectedly, an accurate military list was not available for 1956, and the information on 1956 officeholders was fragmentary. Extending the data to 1958 and treating the 1956-1958 period as one substantially improved the utility of this list.

The civilian positions include ministers and vice-ministers of the State Council, full and alternate members of the 8th and the 9th Central Committee of the CCP, first secretaries and secretaries of provincial Party committees (including Peking, Shanghai, and Tientsin municipal Party committees), and governors and vice-governors of provincial governments (including Peking, Shanghai, and Tientsin municipal governments). Of course, the provincial and municipal governments changed to revolutionary committees in 1967 (beginning with Heilungkiang on January 31, 1967, and concluding with Sinkiang and Tibet on September 5, 1968). The summer of 1971, before the fall of Lin Piao, was the cutoff date. Persons who disappeared between September 1971 and June 1972 have been included in the position analysis of 1971. That list also includes positions identified in late 1970, unless their disappearances before the end of 1971 were confirmed.

Determination of field-army affiliation was by no means easy. Some persons have overlapping field-army affiliation throughout their careers, and some backgrounds are so obscure that identification of FA affiliation is impossible. An example of the former is Hsiao K'o, who was associated with the First, Third, Fifth, and Fourth field armies and then left the military to become Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Land Reclamation. Since his longest and earliest association was with the First Field Army and he had close ties with Ho Lung (the father of the First), particularly during the Long March, it seemed appropriate to classify him as a member of the First Field Army. In general, estimates of field-army affiliation were derived from data on historical and personal ties.

Military unit numbers (such as corps, division, and regiment), combat orders, battles, and area of field-army operations became important

elements for judging field-army affiliation. The simplified chart of field-army evolution on the next page provided a basic guide for the purpose. This chart explains the selection of field-army affiliation, particularly after 1954, when the military-regional structure replaced the field-army system. In principle, military-unit affiliation took precedence over geographical power base. Thus, the personnel of the 26th Corps was regarded as affiliated with the Third Field Army, even though they were located in Shantung Military District, a power base of the Fifth Field Army and a subordinate of the Tsinan Military Region. However, when neither field-army nor military-unit affiliation was known, geographical location became the sole basis for judging. For example, deputy commanders of the Wuhan Military Region between 1950 and 1965 were assumed to be affiliated with the Second Field Army if no data were available on pre-1950 unit assignment. For those whose backgrounds were known only after the Cultural Revolution, particularly since the formation of the revolutionary committees began in January 1967, field-army affiliation was treated as unknown. Under the same principle, if one person had several field-army affiliations, those for 1938 and 1954 became decisive. (For much more detailed charts on about two thousand leaders and a sense of the history of the field-army system, the reader is referred to William Whitson's *The Chinese High Command, 1927-71: A History of Communist Military Politics*.)

For civilian officials, for whom pre-1950 data are limited, the determination of field-army association is based mainly on geographical location between 1950 and 1960. For example, Wei Chin-shui, a native of Fukien, was vice-governor from March 1956 to December 1962, and governor from December 1962 to August 1968, when he was purged; concurrently (August 1956 to August 1968) he was the secretary of the CCP Fukien Provincial Party Committee. He has been classified as a member of the Third Field Army, because Fukien is a province of the Third Field Army power base. The geographical structure of the field-army power bases follows:

First Field Army power base

Lanchow Military Region: Kansu, Ninghsia, Shensi, and Tsinghai
Sinkiang MR

Second Field Army power base

Chengtou MR: Szechwan and Tibet
Kunming MR: Kweichow and Yunnan
Wuhan MR: Honan and Hupeh

Third Field Army power base

Fuchou MR: Fukien and Kiangsi
Nanking MR: Anhwei, Chekiang, and Kiangsu

Fourth Field Army power base

Canton MR: Hunan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung
Shenyang MR: Heilungkiang, Kirin, and Liaoning

Fifth Field Army power base

Peking MR: Hopeh, Inner Mongolia, and Shansi
Tsinan MR: Shantung

Date of entry into the army (for military personnel) or the Party (for civilians) was used to determine generation. Unfortunately, these dates are not always available. However, from those military persons whose generations had been confirmed, a promotion pattern was developed by which to estimate military generations. Those who became division commanders or the equivalent between 1949 and 1952 are likely to belong to the third generation; and those who became regimental commanders and were promoted to division-commanding level in about 1956 generally belong to the fourth generation. Where the military generation indicated is based on such an estimate, it has been placed in parentheses. Since promotion in the Party and government structure was more irregular than military promotion, no attempt was made to guess at a civilian generation in the absence of precise data. (For a detailed discussion of the "military generation" see William Whitson, "The Concept of Military Generation: The Chinese Communist Case," *Asian Survey*, November 1968.)

To portray changes of military and civilian leaders from 1956 to 1971 by their field-army affiliation, military-regional affiliation, Korean War experience (for military leaders only), generation, and

civilian/commander/commissar status, statistical analyses are provided in appendixes and charts. Some explanations of the arrangement of these charts are in order.

The numbers at the head of the vertical columns (1 to 6 or 1 to 8) refer to either field armies or generations, depending on the context. In the former case, "1" stands for the First Field Army, and so on, and "6" refers to that part of the elite whose connection to the Center appeared stronger than to any of the five field armies. Many ministers and vice-ministers of the State Council, for example, belong in this category. Some military leaders (for example, Peng Tehuai and Yeh Chien-ying) were more appropriately assigned to "6" than to any of the five field armies, because they had held positions in the Center substantially longer than they did with the field armies.

A fixed number of positions was chosen for statistical analysis in each military region or military district. If, for example, ten officers were selected for analysis in the Fuchou MR, the balance of those disappearing and the new appointees had to remain the same for each time period between 1956-1958 and 1971. The reason was twofold: (1) Complete lists of all military positions for the four time periods were not available, and the variations could be great. (In Fuchou MR, only six positions were identified in 1956-1958, but twelve in 1969.) (2) It was found desirable to identify ten positions in a military region (1 commander, 1 political commissar, 3 deputy commanders, 3 deputy political commissars, and 1 each for air force commander and political commissar), and six positions in a military district (1 each for commander and political commissar, and 2 each for deputy commander and deputy political commissar). If, however, only eight members could be identified in a military region in the most complete list for any of the four time periods, then eight, rather than ten, became the fixed number. The same rule applied to the optimal six positions in military districts.

Whatever the fixed number of military personnel chosen for analysis in any of the central organs, military regions, and military districts, the total of disappearing-plus-unknown position-holders in a

given time period had to be equal to the total of new appointees-plus-unknowns in that period. The one exception was the period 1966-1969, during which the Second Artillery was established, with the result that new appointees surpassed the disappearing position-holders in number. It should also be noted that unknown position-holders and unknown data (such as unknown field-army affiliation and unknown generation) were treated in two separate columns. Thus, a known position did not preclude the possibility that its holder's field-army affiliation or generation fell in the "unknown data" column.

Choosing a fixed number for the civilians was not necessary, because name lists were nearly 100 percent complete and the increasing numbers were due to the expansion of political personnel. From 1949 to 1966, for example, the number of ministries rose from 24 to 49, and the total number of ministers and vice-ministers increased from 76 to 366. The membership listed in this study for the 8th and the 9th Party Central Committee and the State Council, and the names of provincial governors and vice-governors for 1956 and 1966, are taken in their entirety from the Chinese Communists' own lists.

As regards the "Outsider/"Insider" concept, military regions and the generational definitions were used to determine who was an Outsider and who an Insider. Those who had been in the same military region for at least one full generation prior to their appointment were considered Insiders; those who came in from other military regions and had stayed less than a generation period were Outsiders. In other words, if a civilian or a military official was appointed in the Lanchou Military Region in the twelfth generation period (between April 1969 and December 1971), he had to have been in the Lanchou Military Region already in the tenth generation period (January 1964-January 1967) in order to be considered an Insider. For example, Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing was transferred to Kiangsi in 1967 (eleventh generation period: February 1967-March 1969) from Shantung and became First Secretary of the Kiangsi CCP in December 1970 (twelfth generation). However, in the tenth generation period (January 1964-January 1967) Ch'eng had been in Tsinan Military Region, and he therefore was treated as an Outsider in the Fuchou Military Region in 1970. By this criterion, many Outsiders who were chairmen or

vice-chairmen of province-level revolutionary committees retained Outsider status when they became secretaries of the Party committees for the same provinces.

Outsiders were counted as such when they disappeared from their posts in the next time period.

Since the Central elite (the "Sixth Field Army") is physically in the Peking Military Region (a Fifth Field Army power base), members of the elite of the Peking Military Region who assumed positions in the Center were considered Insiders.

Inner Mongolia was historically a power base of the First and Fifth field armies. In 1970, when it was downgraded from military region to military district, it became part of the Peking Military Region. Therefore, many First Field Army elite members in Inner Mongolia are considered Insiders of Peking Military Region and, logically, Insiders when they assume positions in the Center.

Those who assumed military positions after the Cultural Revolution, particularly political commissars, and had not had a military career prior to 1968 were considered civilians. Thus, Hua Kuo-feng, a Party cadre who became a political commissar of the Hunan Military District in August 1970, was considered political rather than military. Other examples are Hsieh Hsüeh-kung of Tientsin, Liu Chien-hsün of Wuhan, and Liu Chieh-t'ing of Chengtu.

Either of two categories could be considered as military personnel: (1) those who held military rank before the abolition of the system of military ranks and have served primarily in the military organs since 1949, and (2) those who held military rank before but have not been engaged in military work for a long time. The Kuomintang generals who defected to Communist China and assumed civilian posts were considered civilians.

Appendixes A through J resulted from five months of intensive research. The charts in Appendixes G, H, I, and J provide organized raw data; depending on the users' purposes, many other charts could be derived from them. The percentages have therefore been omitted, and their computation is being left to the users. For the analysis of about

fourteen hundred persons, the format of Appendixes B through F provides an adequate breakdown of biographical data. Our biographical and statistical analyses should add to an understanding of Chinese political behavior.

Appendix A

A POSITION LIST OF THE MILITARY HIGH COMMANDS
1956-1958, 1966, 1969, AND 1971

The raised numerals appended to the names of the individuals whose careers are traced in this Appendix refer to the sources of the information, listed in full below.

1. State Department Lists, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, North Asia Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C.
2. *Directory of Party and Government Officials of Communist China*, BD 271, Department of State, Washington, D.C., July 1960.
3. *Chinese Communist Military, Party and Government Personalities*, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 1965.
4. Huang Chen-hsia's file (consulted during the author's trip to Hong Kong in March 1972).
5. Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.
6. *Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 & 2, Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969/70.
7. *1967 Chung Kung Nien Pao* (1967 Yearbook on Chinese Communism), Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, Taipeh, 1967.
8. *1970 Chung Kung Nien Pao* (1970 Yearbook on Chinese Communism), Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, Taipeh, 1970.
9. *Supplement to Directory of Officials of the People's Republic of China*, CR 71-14A, Department of State, Washington, D.C., February 1972.
10. *1971 Chung Kung Nien Pao* (1971 Yearbook of Chinese Communism), Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, Taipeh, 1971.
11. *Directory of Chinese Communist Officials*, A71-14, Department of State, Washington, D.C., May 1971.
12. Interviews by the author with officials of the American Consulate General in Hong Kong, March 1972.
13. *Chinese Communist Party Provincial Leaders*, A71-31, Department of State, Washington, D.C., November 1971.
14. *China News Summary*, Hong Kong.

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15. *Appearances and Activities of Leading Chinese Communist Military Personalities*, November 1971, IR#6842 0027 72, DIA, January 24, 1972.
16. Ting Wang, *Chung-kung Wen-ke Yun-tung chung te Tsu-chih yll Jen-shih Wen-t'i, 1965-1970* (Organizational and Personnel Problems During the Chinese Communist Cultural Revolution, 1965-1970), Contemporary China Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1970.
17. *1957 Jen-min shou-ch'e* (1957 People's Handbook), Ta Kung Pao, Peking, April 1957.
18. Assorted works (1965-1969), Military History Division, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C. [Note: Unless otherwise indicated, the position list for 1966 comes from this source.]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Military Affairs Commission (People's Revolutionary Military Council in 1956. Became National Defense Council in 1958.)				
Chairman	Mao Tse-tung ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same
V-Chairman	Ch'en Yi ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹ [died 1/72]
	Ho Lung ²	Same		
	Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
	Lin Piao ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [purged 9/71]
	Liu Po-ch'eng ²	Same		
	Lo Jung-huan ²			
	Nieh Jung-chen ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
	P'eng Te-huai ²	Purged		
	Teng Hsiao-p'ing ²	Purged		
	Yeh Chien-ying ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
			Li Te-sheng ⁸	Same ¹¹
				Chang Ta-chih ¹¹

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Ministry of National Defense				
Minister	P'eng Te-huai ¹⁷	Lin Piao	Lin Piao	Lin Piao ¹¹ [purged 9/71]
V-Minister	Huang K'o-ch'eng ¹⁷	Lo Jui-ch'ing		
	T'an Cheng ¹⁷	Su Yü	Same	Same ¹¹
	Hsiao Chin-kuang ¹⁷	Same	Same	Same ¹¹
	Wang Shu-sheng ¹⁷	Same	Same	Same ¹¹
	Hsiao K'o ¹⁷	Hsu Kuang-ta		
	Li Ta ¹⁷			
	Liao Han-sheng ¹⁷	Same		
		Hsu Shih-yu	Same	Same ¹¹

Position 1956-58

1966

1969

1971

General Staff Department

Chief	Su Yü ⁵	Yang Ch'eng-wu [purged 5/68]	Huang Yung-sheng ^{8,11}	Same [purged 9/71]
Deputy	Chang Tsung-hsü ²	Same	Wu Fua-hsien ^{8,11}	Same [disappeared]
	Ch'en Keng ²	Han Hsien-ch'u	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Chang Ai-p'ing ²	Same	Li Tso-p'eng ^{8,11}	Same [disappeared]
	P'eng Shao-hui ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Huang K'o-ch'eng ⁵	Yang Yung	Ch'iu Hui-tso ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Li K'e-nung [died 1962]	Li T'ien-yu	Wen Yu-ch'eng ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
		Wang Hsing-t'ing	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
			Yen Chung-ch'uan ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
				Chang Ts'ai-ch'ien ¹¹
				Ch'en Chi-te ¹¹ [disappeared]

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General Political Department

Director	Lo Jung-huan ¹⁸	Hsiao Hua	Purged	Li Te-sheng ¹¹
Deputy	Fu Chung ²	Same [purged]		Huang Chih-yung ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Hsiao Hua ²	Liu Chih-chien	Purged	T'ien Wei-hsin ¹¹
	Kan Szu-ch'i ² [died 2/64]	Liang Pi-yeh	Purged	
	T'an Cheng ¹⁸	Hsü Li-ch'ing		
		Yüan Tzu-ch'in [8/66-]		

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
General Rear Service				
Director	Huang K'o-ch'eng ⁵	Ch'iu Hui-tso	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
Deputy	Chang Ling-pin ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
	Chou Ch'un-ch'uan ²	Same		Wang Hsi-k'o ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Jao Cheng-hsi ²	Same		T'ang T'ien-chi ¹¹
		T'ang T'ien-chi	Tai Chin-ch'uan	Yen Chün ¹¹ [disappeared]
Pol Cmsr		Chang Hsien-yueh	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
		Chang Chih-ming	Same ^{8,11}	Ch'en P'ang ¹¹ [disappeared]
		Chang T'ien-yün	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Huang K'o-ch'eng ⁴			
Deputy	Li Chü-k'uei ²	Same		Chang Chih-ming ^{11,4}
				Han Chen-chi ¹¹
				Dep Dir Feng Yung-shun
Air Force				
Cdr	Liu Ya-lou ² [died 5/65]	Wu Fa-hsien	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
Pol Cmsr	Wu Fa-hsien ⁵	Yü Li-chin [purged '68]	Wang Hui-ch'iu ⁸	Same ⁴
Dep Cdr	Ch'ang Ch'ien-k'un ²	Same	Same	Same ¹¹
	Wang Ping-chang ²	Chung Ch'ih-ping	Wang Ping-chang ⁸	Same ¹¹
	Ts'ao Li-huai ²	Same	Same ⁴	Same ^{11,4}
	Hsü Shen-chi ²	Same	Lo Yuan-fa ⁴	Same
	Liu Chen ²	Same [purged '67]		Hsüeh Shao-ch'ing ⁴
		Ch'eng Chün [purged '67]		Ho Chen-ya ¹⁰
Dep Pol Cmsr		Pei Chih-keng	Wang Hui-ch'iu ¹¹	Tseng Kuo-hua ¹¹ [disappeared]
Dep Cdr		Huang Yü-k'un		Liao Kuan-hsien ¹
				Kuang Jen-nung ¹¹
				T'an Chia-shu ¹¹

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Navy				
Cdr	Hsiao Ching-kuang ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Pol Cmsr	Su Chen-hua ⁴	Su Chen-hua [purged '67]	Li Tso-p'eng ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
Dep Cdr	L'o Shun-ch'u ²	Same	Chou Hsi-han ⁴	Same ⁴
	Liu Tao-sheng ²	Chao Ch'i-min	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
	Fang Ch'iang ²	Li Tso-p'eng	Wu Jui-lin ⁸	Same ^{11,4}
	Wang Hung-k'un ⁴	Same	[Same?]	Same ⁸
Dep Cmsr		Tu I-te	Chang Hsiu-chuan ⁸	
C/S	Chou Hsi-han ²	Same	2nd PC Wang Hung-kun	Same ¹¹
Armored				
Cdr	Hsu Kuang-ta ²	Same	Chen Hung ⁴ [acting]	Same ⁴
Pol Cmsr	(Hsiang Chung-fa) ⁴	Huang Chih-yung	Same ⁴	Same ⁴
Dep Cdr	Lu Jui-lin ⁵	Cheng Shih-ts'ai	Same ⁸	Liu Pin ⁴ [disappeared]
	Nieh Ho-t'ing ⁴			Chung Jen-fang ⁴ [disappeared]
Pol Cmsr	Hsiang Chung-hua ²	Hsiang Chung-hua		Sung Ch'ing-sheng ¹¹
C/S			Wang Huan-ju ⁸	Li Chia-i
C/P	Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing ⁴	Liu Pin	Liu Pin ^{8,4}	Yao Kuo-min
Dep C/S	Teng Chia-t'ai ⁴	Wang Huan-ju ⁴		

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Artillery				
Cdr	Ch'en Hsi-lien ²	Wu Kuo-hua	Chang Ta-chih ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	Ch'en Jen-ch'i ⁴	Ch'en Jen-ch'i	Same ⁸	Ch'en Jen-ch'i ⁴ Yang Chün-sheng ¹
Dep Cdr	Chao Chang-ch'eng ⁴ Su Chin ⁴	Kuang Yu-min Chao Chang-ch'eng Same	Same ^{8,11} Sung Ch'eng-chih ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ Same ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr		Wu Hsin-ch'üan	Same ⁸	Chung Hui ⁹ [12/71] Same ⁴
Dep C/S	Ch'en Jui-t'ing ⁴	C/S Tien Ch'en ⁴		

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Engineer Corps				
Cdr	Ch'en Shih-chü ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr		Tar Fu-jen [Became PC Kunmin MR]	Li Chen ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdrs	Hsü Te-ts'ao ² Hu Ch'i-ts'ai ²	Same Same	Same ⁸ Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4} Wang Yao-nan ¹⁰
Dep Pol Cmsr	Huang Chih-yung ²	[Became Pol Cmsr Armored]		
				Yao Kuo-min ⁴

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Public Security				
Cdr	Lo Jui-ch'ing ²	Hsieh Fu-chih	Same	Same [PD 3/30/72]
Pol Cmsr	Lo Jui-ch'ing ²	Hsieh Fu-chih		
Dep Cdr	Ch'eng Shih-ts'ai ²	Wu Lieh		
	Wang Chin-shan ⁴			
Dep Pol Cmsr	Li T'ien-huan ²	Ouyang P'ing		
C/S	Wu Lieh ⁴			
C/P	Ouyang P'ing ⁴			

Railway Corps

Cdr	Wang Chen ⁴	Same	Chang I-hsiang ⁸	Same ^{11,4} [disappeared]
Pol Cmsr	Li Shou-hsuan ⁵	Same		
	Ts'ui T'ien-min ²	Same [purged in '67 or '68]	Sung Wei-shih ⁸	Same ⁴
Dep Cdrs	Liu K'o ²	Liu Chin-hsuan		Hsiao Ch'un-hsien ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Kuo Wei-ch'eng ²	Same	Same ⁸	
			Lo Hua-sheng ⁸	Same ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr	Wang Chi-ch'eng ²	[Same?]	Same ⁸	
			Wang Kui-ti ⁸	

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Signal Corps				
Cdr	Wang Cheng ²	Same	Chou Shih-chung ⁴	Same ⁴ [or Chou became D/Cdr Fuchou MR]
Pol Cmsr	Chu Ming ²	Ch'en Ho-ch'iao	Huang Wen-ming ⁴	Same ⁴
Dep Cdrs		Chou Yung	Same ⁴	Li Tung-han ¹⁰
Dep Pol Cmsr		Fan Yang-ch'un	Li Chin-ju ⁴	Lung Chen-piao ¹⁰
			Same ⁴	Same ¹⁰

2nd Artillery

Cdr	Wu Lieh [Acting] ⁴ or Liu Chin-ping	Yang Chun-sheng ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Yu Chin-shan [Acting] ⁴	Liu Hsien-ch'uan ¹
Dep Cdr	Wu Lieh ⁸	Same ⁴ [reappeared 29/3/72]
Dep Pol Cmsr	Yu Chin-shan ⁸	Wang T'ing ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Liao Ch'eng-mei ⁸	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
	Ch'en Fa-hung ⁴	Same ⁴

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Canton MR				
Cdr	Li T'ien-yu ²	Huang Yung-sheng	Ting Sheng ⁸	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	T'ao Chu ²	Same	Liu Hsing-yüan ⁸	Jen Szu-chung ⁹
Dep Cdrs	Wen Nien-sheng ²	Same	Yeh Chien-min ⁸	Huang Jung-hai ⁹
	Chan Ts'ai-fang ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Liang Hsien-ch'u ⁵	Same	Wu Chun-jen ⁸	Same [disappeared] ^{11,4}
Dep Pol Cmsr	Liu Hsing-yüan ²	Same	Chiang Hsüeh-yüan ⁸	Yang Mei-sheng ^{11,4}
		Same	Kuo Ch'eng-chu ⁸	Pu Chan-ya ¹¹
		Yen Fu-sheng	Same ⁸	
Cdr AF	Chang Hsi-san ⁴	Wu Fu-shan [purged in '67]	Jen Szu-chung ⁸	Wang P'u ⁹
AF Pol Cmsr	Wu Fa-shan ⁴	Lung Tao-ch'uan ⁴	Vacant ⁴	Same ^{4,10}
AF Dep Cdr		Liu Shih-ch'ang ⁴	Lung Tao-ch'uan ⁴ [Acting Cdr]	
Cmsr AAA			Wang P'u ⁴	
Canton MR	Lung Tao-ch'uan ⁴			
Dep Cdr				Ch'iu Kuo-kuang ¹⁵ [11/71]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Ch'engtu MR				
Cdr	Ho Ping-yen ²	[died in '60]Huang Hsin-t'ing ⁴	Liang Hsing-ch'u ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Pol Cmsr	Li Ching-ch'uan ⁴	Li Ching-ch'uan	Chang Kuo-fa ^{8,11}	Chang Kuo-fa ^{11,4} [Ch'en Jen-chih ⁹ 9/71]
Dep Cdrs	Ho Cheng-wen ²	Same	Hu Chi-ch'eng ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Huang Hsin-t'ing ²	Teng Shao-tung	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Li Wen-ch'ing ²	Same	Wei Chieh ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Yen Hung-yen ⁴ [Transferred to Kunming 1959] ⁴ Kuo Ling-ch'iang	Yu Shu-sheng	Liu Chieh-t'ing ^{8,11} [dismissed '70]	Hsieh Cheng-jung ⁹ [9/71] Yen Cheng ⁴ [replaced Liu] Same ^{4,10} Same ¹¹
Pol Cmsr		Yü Hung-yüan ⁴ [Concurrently Cmsr Szechwan]	Hsieh Chia-hsiang ⁸ Yü-Hung-yüan ^{8,11}	
Foochou MR				
Cdr	Yeh Fei ⁵	Han Hsien-ch'u	Same ⁸	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	Yeh Fei ⁴ [Concurrently]	Yeh Fei [1st PC]	Chou Ch'ih-p'ing ⁸	Same ¹¹ [disappeared]
Dep Cdrs	Pi Ting-chün ¹	Liu Pei-shan [2nd PC] Same	Same ⁸ [Trans. to Kansu 1970] Same ^{8,11}	Wu Pao-shan ¹¹ Same
		Teng K'o-ming Liu Pin	Chu Shao-ch'ing ⁸ Wu Jui-shan ⁸	Tuan Su-ch'uan Same ⁴ Same
Dep Pol Cmsr	Liu Pei-shan ¹	Yen Cheng Liao Hai-kuang	Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing ⁸ Same ⁸ Lu Sheng ⁸ Chan Hua-yü ⁸	Same Yen Cheng T'an Ch'i-lung Wang Chien-an Lo Wei-tao ⁴
AF Cdr	Fang Sheng-p'u ⁴	Lo Wei-tao ⁴	Yang Szu-lu ⁸	
AF Pol Cmsr		Li Shih-an	Same ⁸	
Dep C/P	Lo Wei-tao ⁴			

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Inner Mongolia MR -- Became MD in 1970				
Cdr	Wu Lan-fu ²	Same	Teng Hai-ch'ing ⁸	Yu T'ai-chung ⁴ Same ⁴ Same
Pol Cmsr	Wu Lan-fu ²	Same	Wu T'ao ⁸	
Dep Cdrs	Kung Fei ¹	Hsiao Ying-t'ang	Same ⁸	
	Liu Hua-hsiang ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
	Liu Pin ¹	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	T'ing Mou ²	Wang Tsai-tien	Ho Feng-shan ⁸	Wang Chung-cheng ¹¹ Hsu Hsin ⁴
Kunming MR				
Cdr	Ch'in Chi-wei ⁵	Same [purged in '68]	Vacant [Wang Pi-ch'eng ⁹ (Acting)] ⁴	Wang Pi-ch'eng ⁹ [9/71]
Pol Cmsr	Hsieh Fu-chih ⁴ [Concurrently]	Yen Hung-yen	Tan Fu-jen ⁸	Chou Hsing ⁹ [9/71] Same ¹¹
Dep Cdrs	Ch'en K'ang ⁵ Lu Jui-lin ²	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
		Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹ [12/70]
Dep Cmsr		Li Cheng-feng	T'ien Wei-yang ⁸ Wang Pi-ch'eng ⁸ Li Tsai-han ^{8,11} [purged in '70]	
		Hu Jung-kuei	Tuan Szu-ying ⁸	
		Chin Ju-pai		Li Ko-chung ⁴ [5/71]
Cdr AF		Liu Mao-kung		Ma Chieh-san ⁴
PC AF			Tsui Wen-pin ⁸	

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Lanchow MR				
Cdr	Chang Ta-chih ⁵	Same	Kuo P'eng ⁸	Pi Ting-chün ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Hsien Heng-han ⁵	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Li Jui-shan ⁴ Same ¹¹
Dep Cdrs		Liu Lan-t'ao	Same ^{8,11}	Same
		Hsü Kuo-chen	Same ^{8,11}	Same
		Yang Chia-jui	Same ¹¹ [Dep PC]	
		K'ang Chien-min	Li Shu-mao ^{8,11}	Same
Dep Pol Cmsr	Wu Sheng-jung ⁴	Kao Wei-sung	Same ^{8,11}	Same
		Wang Ching-sheng		K'ang Chien-min
Cdr AF		Kuan Sheng-chih	Yang Huan-min ⁸	Liu Hsi-yuan ⁹ [5/71]
Dep Cdr AF		Fan Sheng-pu		Same ¹⁰
Pol Cmsr AF	Kuan Sheng-chih ⁴	Kuan Sheng-chih	Same ⁸	Same ⁴
				Same ¹⁰

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Nanking MR				
Cdr	Hsu Shih-yu ⁵	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	T'ang Liang ⁵	Same	Chang Ch'un-ch'iao ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdrs		Tu P'ing	Same ^{11,8}	Same ^{11,4} [disappeared]
	Chang Ts'ai-ch'ien ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Kuo Hua-jo ²	Same	Same ⁸	Liao Jung-piao ⁹ [3/71]
	Nieh Feng-chih ⁴	Wang Pi-ch'eng	Same	Hsiao Yung-yin ⁹ [7/71]
Dep Pol Cmsr			Liu Wei-hsien DIA [Trans to Wuhan MR 5/70]	
			Jao Tzu-chien ^{8,11} [R.P.]	Same ^{11,4}
		Wang Liang-en	Chou Kuang-wu ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
		Lai Yi	Wang Liu-sheng ^{8,11}	[Became 1st PC ¹⁴ Wuhan MR. CNS399]
Cdr AF	Hsiao Wan-tung ⁴	Same	Same ^{8,5} [purged in '68?]	Liu Mao-kung ⁴
Dep Cdr AF	Ch'en Hua-t'ong ⁴	Tsai Yung	Same ¹¹ [promoted Cdr AF, Senyang in '71]	
Pol Cmsr AF	Yu Li-chin ⁴	Chiang T'eng-chiao	Yu Ying-lung ⁴	Yu Ying-lung ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr AF		Yü Li-chin	Same ⁴ [purged 3/1968]	Same ⁴
				Peng Yu ⁴

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Peking MR				
Cdr	Yang Ch'eng-wu ²	Yang Yung	Cheng Wei-shan ^{8,11} [Acting]	Chang Ts'ai-ch'ien ⁴
1st Pol Cmsr	Chu Liang-ts'ai ²	Same	Hsieh Fu-chih ⁸ Li Hsüeh-feng ⁸ Liu K'o-p'ing ^{8,11} [2nd PC]	Li Hsüeh-feng ¹¹ [disappeared] Same ¹¹ Same ¹¹
Dep Cdrs	Cheng Wei-shan ²	Same	Chen Hsien-ju ^{8,11} [Dep PC]	Same ^{4,11} [2nd PC]
		Han Wei	Hsiao Wen-chiu ^{8,11} Same ^{8,-1}	Same ¹¹
		Wang Chin-shan	Wu Hsien-en ^{8,11} T'eng Hai-ch'ing ⁸ Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ Same ^{11,4} Same ^{11,4}
Dep Pol Cmsr	Chang Nan-sheng ⁵	Same	Huang Chen-t'ang ⁸ Wu Tai ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Cdr AF	Lo Yüan-fa ⁴	Ch'en Hsien-ju ¹ Liu Shao-wen Lo Yüan-fa	Same or Li Chi-tai [Acting] ⁴ Li Chi-tai ⁴ Chang Pai-ch'un ⁴	Li Chi-tai ⁹ [6/71] Chi Shih-tang ⁴ Same ⁴
Dep Cdr AF		Li Chung-chuan		
Pol Cmsr AF				
Dep Pol Cmsr AF		Chang Pai-ch'un ⁴		

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Shenyang MP				
Cdr	Teng Hua ⁵	Ch'en Hsi-lien	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
1st Pol Cmsr		Sung Jen-ch'ung [purged]	P'an Fu-sheng ^{11,8} [2nd PC]	Same ^{11,1}
Pol Cmsr	Chou Huan ²		Tseng Shao-shan ^{8,11}	Liu Po-chiu ⁹ [8/71]
Dep Cdrs	Wang Chien-an ⁴ Tseng Shih-yü ⁴ Tseng Shao-shan ⁴	Same ⁴ Same ⁴ Same	Chiang Yung-hui ^{8,11} Chang Feng ⁴ Wang Yang ⁴	Same ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr	Tu P'ing ² Chou Huan ⁴	Chang Kai-ching Li Po-ch'iu Li Chen	Hsiao Ch'uan-fu ⁸ [R.P.11] Same ^{8,11} Liu Kuang-t'ao ⁴	Same ⁴ Same ¹¹ Liu Hsi-yuan ⁹ [5/71]
C/S	Wu Kuo-hua ⁴	T'ang Tzu-an ⁴		
AF Cdr	Tseng Kuo-hua ⁴	Same	Ts'ai Yung ⁴	Same ⁴
AF Pol Cmsr	Chou Ch'ih-p'ing ⁴	Huang Li-ch'ing ⁴ [purged 1967]	Lu Li-ping ⁴	Same ⁴
AF Dep Cdr		Ho Chen-ya ⁵		Ma Ning ⁴ Fan Sheng-p'u ⁴ Ho Chen-ya ⁴

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Sinkiang MR				
Cdr	Wang En-mao ⁵	Same	Lung Shu-chin ^{8,11}	Same ¹³ [11/71]
Pol Cmsr	Wang En-mao ²	Same	Chang Tzu-min ⁴	[Trans to Wuhan 1971] ⁴
			Hsiao Szu-min ⁸	
Dep Cdr	Sai Fu-ting ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Chang Hsi-chin ^{1,2}	Same ⁴	Chang Chieh-ch'eng ⁴	Same ¹ [1/71] [from Shenyang]
	T'ao Chih-yüeh ²	Same	Tu Hai-lin ⁴ [from Shenyang]	
1st Dep Cdr	Kuo P'eng ⁴	Same	Lai Kung-hsün ⁴ [from Nanking]	Same [3/71] ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr	Li Ch'üan ¹	Same	Lo Jung ^{8,11}	
	Tso Ch'i ⁴	Same	Same [disappeared ⁴ in 1970]	
			Same ^{11,8}	
		T'an K'ai-yüan		
AF Cdr				Dep Cdr Li Ch'üan-chün [5/71] ⁹
AF Pol Cmsr				Lu Ching-hsüan [2/72] ⁹
				Wu Sheng-k'ai ¹⁰
				Li Ch'üan-chün ¹⁰

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Tsinan MR				
Cdr	Yang Te-chih ²	Same	Same ^{11,8}	Same ^{11,4}
1st Pol Cmsr	Shu Tung ²	T'an Ch'i-lung	Wang Hsiao-yu ^{11,8} [purged '69]	Same ^{4,11}
Pol Cmsr		Yüan Sheng-p'ing	Same ⁸	Same ^{4,11}
Dep Cdrs	Fan Ch'ao-li ⁴	Same	Same ⁸	Same ^{4,11}
	Chang Jen-ch'u ⁴	Same	Same ⁸	Fu Chia-hsüan ¹¹
	Yang Kuo-fu ⁴	Same	Same ⁸	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	P'eng Chia-ch'ing ⁴	Li Yao-wen	Li Shui-ch'ing ⁸	Same ¹¹
			Same ⁸	Li Po [2/71] ⁹
				Ch'en Mei-ts'ao ¹¹
AF Cdr				
AF Dep Cdr	Wu Chung-hsien ⁴	Same	[Same?]	Same ⁴
AF Pol Cmsr	Fang Huai ⁴	Same		
Tibet MR (Downgraded to Military District in 1970)				
Cdr	Chang Kuo-hua ²	Same	Tseng Yung-ya ⁸	Ch'en Ming-i ¹³
Pol Cmsr	Tan Kuan-san ²	Same	Jen Jung ⁸	Same [6/71] ⁹
Dep Cdr	Ch'en Ming-i ¹	Same	Same ⁸	Hsia Yu-hsien [5/71] ⁹
	A-Pei-a-wang-Chiu-mei ²	Tseng Yung-ya	Yü Chih-ch'üan ¹¹	Same ¹¹
		Chao Wen-chin	Same ⁸	Lan Hai ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Wang Chi-mei ²	Jen Jung	Wang K'ang ⁴	Same ¹¹
	Chang Hua-yu ² [no data]	Lu I-shan	Liao Pu-yüan ¹¹	Same ¹¹
C/S		Wang K'ang ⁵	Same	Same

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Wuhan MR				
Cdr	Ch'en Tsai-tao ²	Same	Tseng Szu-yü ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	Wang Jen-chung ⁴	[2nd PC Chung Han-hua] Same	Liu Feng ^{1,2} [disappeared 10/71 ⁴]	Wang Liu-sheng ¹² [11/71]
Dep Cdrs	K'ung Ch'ing-te ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ^{4,11}
		Li Ying-hsi	Hsü Kuo-fu ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
		Chung Wen-fa	Li Hua-min ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	T'an Fu-jen ⁴	Chang Kuang-ts'ai	Chang Yü-hua ^{8,11}	Dep Cdr Li Kuang-chun ⁹ Same [1/72]
		Yeh Ming ⁴	Same ⁸	Liu Chien-hsun ¹¹
AF Cdr				Pan Chen-wu ¹³
AF Pol Cmsr		Fu Ch'uan-t'so ⁴	Same ^{8,11}	Same ⁴
AF Dep Cdr	Fu Ch'uan-t'so ⁴	Liao Kuan-hsien ⁴	Hsiao Ch'ien ^{8,11}	Same ¹⁰
Dep C/P	Lü Ping-an ⁴ [1957-67]	Liu Feng ⁴	Chao Lan-t'ien ⁸	Same ¹¹
AF Dep C/P		Same		
		Hsiao Ch'ien ⁴		Fang Min ⁴ [Cdr 15th Airborne Corps (Concurrently)]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Anhui MD				
Cdr	Liu Hei ^{5,4}	Liao Jung-piao	Li Te-sheng ⁸	Same ^{4,11}
Pol Cmsr	Tseng Hsi-sheng ⁴	Same	Chang Wen-pi ⁸ [Trans to Peking]	
2nd Pol Cmsr	Li Shih-yen ²	1st Cmsr Li Pao-hua ⁴		
		2nd Cmsr Li Shih-yen ⁴	Sung P'ei-chang ⁴	Same ¹¹
		3rd Cmsr Wang Wen-mo ⁴		
Dep Cdrs	Chang Chen-tung ²	Same	Same ¹¹	Same ¹¹
	Ch'eng Yeh-t'ang ²	Same	Same ¹¹	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Ma Tsung-huang ²	Chang Chi-hou	Same ¹¹	Same ¹¹
	Liu Chien-t'ing ²	[Same?]		P'eng Sheng-piao ¹¹
C/S	Yen Kuang ⁴	Wang Wen-mo		
C/P	Liu Chien-t'ing ⁴			

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Chekiang MD				
Cdr	Lin Wei-hsien ⁴	Chien Chun	Hsiung Ying-t'ang ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
1st Pol Cmsr	Chiang Hua ⁴	Same		
Pol Cmsr	Chou Kuan-wu ²		Nan P'ing ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdrs	Ch'ien Ch'ün ²			
	Liang Chiu-hua ² [died]	Liu Heng-yün ⁴		
	Chou Ch'ang-sheng ²	Same		Chung Hsien-wen ⁹ [7/71]
	Li Kuo-hou ²	Ho I-hsiang ⁴	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
		Wan Chen-hsi ⁴	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Chou Kuan-wu ²	Lung Chien	Kuo Tso-hsin ⁸	Same
				Ch'en Li-yün ¹¹ [disappeared]
				Hsia Chi [11/71] ⁹
				[replaced Ch'en]
Fukien MD				
Cdr	Liu Yung-sheng ⁴	Chu Yao-hua	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹ [10/70]
Pol Cmsr	Lu Sheng ⁵	Same	Liu Chien-t'ing ⁸	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdrs	Mao Hui-i ²	Lei-Chen	Mao Hui-i ⁸	Same
	Liu Yung-sheng ⁶	Liu Chen-ch'iu ⁴	Same	Same ^{11,4}
		Ch'en T'ing ⁴		Tu Tse-sheng ^{11,4}
Dep Pol Cmsr		Chang Chuang-chu	Liao Hai-kuang ⁸	Same ¹ [5/70]
		Wang Chih		Chu Shao-ching [3/71]
		Liu Chien-t'ing ⁴		CNS No. 364

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Heilungkiang MD				
Cdr	Chang K'ai-ching ²	Wang Chia-tao	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Dep Cdr	Huang Ching-yao ²	Same ⁴ Chang Wan-ch'un	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Wang Ming-kuei ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Chou Hai-kuo ⁹ [1/72]
Pol Cmsr	O Yang-ch'in ⁴	Yu Hao-yang	Ts'ao Tzu-p'ing ¹¹	Same ¹ [10/70]
Dep Pol Cmsr	Lu Ching ²	Same ⁶ Pan Fu-sheng	Kuo Ch'iang ⁸	Same ¹
		Same	Huang Ming-ch'ing ^{8,11}	Liu Kuang-t'ao ^{11,4}
		Chiang Hsiao-chu ⁴		
		Jen Yün-chung ⁴		

Honan MD

Cdr	Pi Chan-yün ²	Chang Shu-chih	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
1st Pol Cmsr	P'an Fu-sheng ⁴	Liu Chien-hsün	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
2nd Pol Cmsr			Wang Hsin ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Dep Cdr	Wang Yuan-feng ⁴ [died 1960] Su Ao ²	Ch'en Kuei-ch'ang	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
	Huang Hsin-yu ²	Same		Yang Shu-yüan ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Sung Lieh ⁴	Wu Chih-pu		Wang Hui ¹¹
	Ho Yün-hung ²	Same	Tu Ho-t'ing ^{8,11}	
	Wang Ch'uan-kuo ²	Same		Lo I ⁹ [7/71]
Pol Cmsr		Yu Shih-kuei		Lu Yang ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr				Tseng Kuang-sheng ⁹ [12/71]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Hopeh MD				
Cdr	Wang Tao-pang ⁴	Ma Hui	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [10/70]
Pol Cmsr	Lin Tieh ⁴	Same	Tseng Mei ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [10/70]
	Wang Ch'i-ts'ai ²		Yang Yu-shan ^{8,11}	
			Fang Tzu-chung ⁴	
Dep Cdrs	Meng Ch'ing-shan ²	Same		Yuan Chi ¹⁰
	Tsou Kuo-hou ²	Same		
Dep Pol Cmsr	Wang Chi-ts'ai ⁴	[died 5/65]	Yang Ming-shan ^{8,11}	
	Li Chih-yüan ²	Hsiao Szu-ming		Ku Chi-feng ¹⁰
	Lu K'o ²			[⁴ no such person]
Hunan MD				
Cdr	Yang Mei-sheng ²	Lung Shu-chin	Yang Ta-i ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹
Pol Cmsr	T'an Ju-pao ⁵	Chang Ping-hua	Chang Li-hsien ⁸	Pu Chan-ya ¹¹
2nd Pol Cmsr	Yen Fu-sheng ²			
Dep Pol Cmsr	Fang Kuo-nan ²	Liu Kuo-hsing	2nd PC	Chang Li-hsien ¹¹ [10/70]
	Ch'en Chih-pin ²	T'an Wen-pang	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹⁶ [1970]
		Fang Kuo-nan ⁴	Huang Li-kung ¹¹	Li Chen-chün ¹¹
		Liu Tzu-yün	Wei Kai-ching ^{8,11}	Cheng Chi-wen ⁹ [5/71]
Dep Cdr	Ho Te-ch'uan ²	Same		Liu Shan-fu [6/71] ⁹
	Wu Tzu-li ²			Wang Yu-fa ¹² [12/71]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Hupeh MD				
Cdr	Han Tung-shan ²	Wu Shih-an	Chao Fu-hsing ⁸	Same [dismissed 1971 ⁴] Hsin Chdn-chieh ¹¹ [12/70]
Pol Cmsr	Wang Jen-chung ² [DIA]	Chang T'i-hsueh	Same ^{8,11}	
Dep Cdrs	Chou Fa-t'ien ⁵	2nd PC Chang Shu-ts'ai ⁴	Lai Chin-hua ^{8,11}	Same ¹⁶ [1970] Ku Peng-ju [3/71 ⁹] Yen Chdn [5/71 ⁹] Same ¹¹ [6/70] Li Kuo-hsiu ¹¹ [12/70] Chu Ting-hsiu [5/71 ⁹] AF Liu Feng ¹²
Dep Pol Cmsr	P'an Shou-ts'ai ² Li Ying-hsi ⁴ Chang Kuang-ts'ai ⁴	Huang Hung-chen ⁴ Wu Lin-huan ⁴ Same Chou Chih-kang	Chu Yeh-k'uei ^{8,11} Same [or 2nd PC?] ⁸	
Kansu MD				
Cdr	Hsu Kuo-chen ⁵	Same	Chang Chung ⁴ ['64-'69] Lung Ping-ch'u ⁵ [dismissed in 1970]	Chang Chung ⁴
Pol Cmsr		Wang Feng	Liang Jen-chieh ⁸	Same ⁴
Dep Cdrs	Chou Hsiang-chu ¹	Same ⁵ Lung Ping-ch'u Chang Chung	Hu Ting-fa ¹⁰ Wang Yü-k'un ¹⁰ Same ⁸	
Dep Pol Cmsr				Kao Wei-sung ¹

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Kirin MD				
Cdr	Ho Chien ²	Lo K'un-shan	Ho Yu-fa ^{8,11}	Same ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Wu Te ²	Chao Lin [1966-]	Wang Hai-hsiang ⁸	Chang Ying [7/71] ⁹ [also Dep Cdr] Same ¹¹ [9/70]
Dep Cdr	Shu Hsing ²	Ho Chi-hsiang ⁴		
	Chung Ming-piao ²	Same ⁴	Same ^{8,11}	Same ⁴
	Chiang K'o-ch'eng ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [6/70]
Dep Pol Cmsr	Chu Shih-huan ²	Huang Szu-pei		Lei Sheng ⁹ [7/71]
	Fan Hsleh-wen ²	Same		
		Wang Hai-hsiang ⁴		
Kiangsi MD				
Cdr	Teng Kuo-ming ^{2,5}	Wu Jui-shan	Yang Tung-liang ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	Yang Shang-k'uei ²	Same	Ch'eng Shih-ch'ing ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdr	K'uang Pin ²	2nd PC Lin Chung-chao ⁴	Hu Ting-ch'ien ^{8,11}	Same ¹ [10/70]
	Kung Ling-fu ²	Same		Shen Chan [6/71] ⁹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Lin Chung-chao ²	Same	Lo Yüan-hsi ¹¹ [2/69]	Lo Yüan-hsi ¹¹ [2/69]
	Chu Shih-fang ²	Tang Kuang-hui	Wen Tao-hung ^{8,11}	Cheng Kuo ^{10,11} [5/70]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Kiangsu MD				
Cdr	Liu Hsien-sheng ^{4,5}	Tuan Huan-chin ⁴ Chao Chün	Chao Chün ⁸	Huang Ch'ao-t'ien ^{11,4}
1st Pol Cmsr	Chiang Wei-ch'ing ⁵	Same	Wu Ta-sheng ⁸	Same
2nd Pol Cmsr	Tseng Ju-ch'ing ⁴	Same [-1966] ⁴		
Dep Cdr	Chou Ch'ang-sheng ⁴	Chang Yu-ching	Liu Lin ⁸ [Trans to Peking 1970]	Li Mu-sheng ^{10,4}
Dep Pol Cmsr	Tseng Ju-ch'ing ²	Liu Yung		Chang Ch'ao-fu ¹¹
Dep Cdr Shanghai CCAF		Liang Chi-ch'ing Chen Mao-hui	Same ^{8,11}	Same ⁴ [disappeared 1971]
Kwangsai MD				
Cdr	Li T'ien-yu ⁴	Ou Chih-fu	Chao Hsin-jan ⁴ Same ⁸	Wei Tzu-chen [CNS No. 358] Chao Hsin-jan ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Liu Chien-hsin ⁵ (1) Chang Yün-i ⁴ (2) Ch'en Man-yüan ⁴	Wei Kuo-ch'ing 2nd PC Li Shih-ts'ai ⁴	Same ^{8,11}	Wei Tzu-chen ^{4,9} Same ¹¹
Dep Cdr	Fu Ch'un-tsao ² Wang K'uei-hsien ² Lu Shao-wu ⁴	Ch'en K'ai-lu ⁴ S... ⁴ Chiao Yu-shan Liu Chung-kui Li Shih-t'sai	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ Chao Hsin-jan ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Fang Kuo-an ^{2,5}			Hsu Sheng-t'ing ¹¹ Yu Szu-fu [5/71] ⁹
C/P	Lu Pin-an ⁴ [-56?]			

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Kwangtung MD				
Cdr	Lung Shu-chin ²	Huang Jung-hai	Same ^{8,11} [Became Dep ⁹ Cdr Canton MR 5/71 ⁹]	Chang Chin-yao ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Ch'iu Hui-tso ⁴	Chen Te	Same ¹¹	
Dep Cdr	Hsiao Yuan-ch'iu ⁴ [died 1960]	Wu Chiang	Same ⁸	Su Ko-chih [5/71 ⁹]
	Sung Wei-shih ²	Same		Hou Hsien-tang [5.71 ⁹]
	Liu Tzu-ch'i ²	Wang Tao-chuan ⁴		Mao Ho-fa ¹¹
		Liu Hsing-lung ⁴	[Same ¹¹]	Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr	Sun Cheng ²	Same	Pai Ping ^{8,11}	Teng Hsiu-fang [2/71 ¹¹]
		Yang Hui-tu		
		Pao Ch'i-ch'iang ⁴		
Kweichow MD				
Cdr	T'ien Wei-yang ⁵	Ho Kuang-yü	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [5/70]
Pol Cmsr	Chou Lin ²	2nd PC Shih Hsin-an	Li Tsai-han ⁴ [purged]	Lan I-nung [disappeared ⁴ since 9/71]
2nd Pol Cmsr	Wang Kuei-te ²	1st PC Chia Ch'i-yün ⁴	2nd PC Shih Hsin-an ⁸ [purged in '70 ⁴]	
Dep Cdr	Wang Nai-kuei ¹	Chang P'ei-jung	Chang Liang ^{8,11}	Chang Liang ¹¹ [?]
	Ho Kuang-yü ²	Wu Jung-cheng	Same ^{8,11}	
			Chen Chieh-ti ⁸	Same [?]
Dep Pol Cmsr	Shih Hsin-an ²	Li Tsai-han		
		T'ien Hua-i	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [71?]]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Liaoning MD				
Cdr	Ho Ch'ing-chi ²	Same	Same ^{8,11}	Li Tao-chih ¹ Chang Hai-tang ¹⁰
1st Pol Cmsr		Huang Huo-ching	Li Tao-chih ²	Same
2nd Pol Cmsr		Same		
Dep Cdr	Chao Ch'eng-chin ² Li Tao-chih ²	Same Same [?] Chang Hai-tang	Same ^{1,2} Same ¹	Li Tao-chih [7/71] Liu Ts'ai-hsin ¹⁰
Dep Pol Cmsr	Huang Hui-liang	Same Huang Ou-tung Yang Chi T'an K'ai-yln	Same ^{2,11} [3rd PC?]	Same ¹¹
Ningsia MD				
Cdr		Chu Sheng-ta	Chao Ping-lung ⁸	Chiang Yu-an ⁹ [1/72] Kao Jui ⁴
Dep Cdr		Niu Hua-tung Chu Chih-kao	Ch'en Yang-ch'un ^{8,11} Kao Jui ⁴ Chang Huai-li ^{8,11}	Chao Ping-lung [1/72 ⁹]
Pol Cmsr		Yang Ching-jen	K'ang Chien-min ^{8,11}	Hsu Chung-po [1/72 ⁹] Same ⁴ Same ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr		Chiang Po	Same ⁸	Same

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Shansi MD				
Cdr	Wang Tzu-feng ²	Ch'en Chin-yü	Hsieh Chen-hua ^{8,11}	Ts'ao Chung-nan [11/71] ¹² Same ¹¹ [9/70]
Dep Cdr	Tseng Pao-t'ang ² Ts'ai Ai-ch'ing ²	Same Ts'ao Yü-ch'ing PC Liu Ko-p'ing	Chao Kuan-ying ⁸ Same ⁸ Same ⁸	Hsü Shao-hua ¹¹ [2/70] Chang Chao-yüan Ts'ao Chung-nan [CNS No. 365]
1st Pol Cmsr				
2nd Pol Cmsr				
Dep Pol Cmsr	Li Tso-yu ¹ Chang P'ing-k'ai ²	Chih Sheng-yüan Chang Jih-ch'ing	Ts'ao Chung-nan ⁴ Same ⁸ [purged in 1970] Liu Shih-hung ⁸	Same ⁴ PC Liu Shih-hung [11/71] ¹²
C/P	Wang Li-sheng ⁴			
Shantung MD				
Cdr		Tung Kuo-kuei	Same ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [5/70]
Dep Cdr		Huang I-p'ing Ch'en Chung-mei	Fu Chien-wu ^{8,11} Same ⁴	Same [?] Same [?]
Pol Cmsr	T'an Ch'i-lung ⁴	1st PC Tan Ch'i-lung ⁴ 2nd PC Ho Chih-yüan ⁴	Feng Jen-en ^{8,11} Same Wang Hsiao-yü ^{8,11} [purged]	Same [?] T'ang Chien-ju?
Dep Pol Cmsr		Ho Chih-yuan ⁴ Yang Han-lin ⁴ Sun Fang-pu ⁴	Tseng Kuang-fu ¹¹ Same ⁸	Same ¹¹ [4/70] Same ¹⁰

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Shensi MD				
Cdr	Yang Chia-jui ²	Hu Ping-yün	Huang Ching-yao ^{8,11}	Same ¹¹ [9/70]
Dep Cdr	Min Hung-yu ² Chang K'ai-chi ²	Same Same	Hsu Li-shu ⁸	Hu Wei ⁴
Pol Cmsr	Niu Shu-shen ²	Yüan Ko-fu	Same ^{8,11} Ku Feng-ming ^{8,11}	Liu Chen ¹ [10/70] Li Jui-shan ^{11,4}
Dep Pol Cmsr	Niu Shu-shen ¹	Same Huo Shih-lien 1st PC Hu Yao-pang ⁴	Hsiung Kuang-yen ^{8,11}	Yüan Ko-fu ¹¹ Pai Hsin-fu? Sun Ch'ang-hsin ⁴

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Tsinghai MD				
Cdr	Li Shu-mou ⁴ Kao Lang-t'ing ⁵ [from entry Kao Wei-sung]	Liu Hsien-ch'üan	Chang Chiang-lin ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Pol Cmsr	Kao Wei-sung ²	Yang Chih-lin	Sung Ch'ang-keng ^{8,11}	Same ^{11,4}
Dep Cdr		Chao Ping-lun Tseng Cheng	Same ^{8,11} Same ⁸	Same ¹¹ Lu Chih-an ¹¹
Dep Pol Cmsr		Wang Wen-ying Chi Wei-chuan	Wu Shih-chieh ^{8,11}	Li Te-chang ¹¹ [10/70]

Position	1956-58	1966	1969	1971
Yunnan MD				
Cdr	Hsieh Fu-chih ⁵	Li Hsi-fu ⁴ [4/64-]	Li Hsi-fu ⁸	Same ^{11,5}
Dep Cdr	Chou Hsueh-i ⁴ [died 1964]	Wang Chi-ming ⁴	Hsiung K'uei ⁸	Same [?]
		Li Hsi-fu	Wang Yin-shan ⁸	Ma Tao-chih [7/71] ⁹
		Chu Chia-pi		Wang Pi-ch'eng ^{1,13}
Pol Cmsr	Hsieh Fu-chih ⁵	Chou Hsing	Same ¹¹	Same ⁴
Dep Pol Cmsr	Chin Ju-p'ai ⁴	Li Ming	Same ⁸	
	Ch'en Ho-ch'iao ⁴	Ting Yi		
		Liang T'ien-hsi ⁴		

Appendix B

MILITARY LISTS WITH BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

1956-1958, 1966, 1969, 1971

SOURCES: Appendix A, pp. 13ff.

Name	Y of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmstr), C(Cdr., B(Both))												LC ^f	Combat g ^h	Education					Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
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Key to Place of Birth: AN = Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Hailujiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHC; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHO; Shensi = SHS; Sinkiang = SK; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TII; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engku; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Ginssies); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = General Rear

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = 'A-g. 1' medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. MLI = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (Mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Ad ^h	Education										Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Kiangsu = KS; Kweichow = KW; Kwangsi = KS; Kwangtung = KT; Kwantung = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shantung = SH; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TT; Taichang = TC; Yunnan = YN.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army: 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch: 1 = Artillery; 2 = Engineers; 3 = Infantry; 4 = Cavalry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955-1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1963-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1963-).
h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.
i. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. MII = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd., navy base cmd.); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	MR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd ^h	Education					Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
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b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central
c. FE = Final Estimate
d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan
e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1963-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1963-).
h. Avd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal
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j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers
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[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Place of Death	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Bol)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Adv ^h	Education						Status						Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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k. ML = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Gmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

Name	10 11 12	13 14 15	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^c LC ^f	Combat ^g And ^h	Education					Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
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Name	10 03/17/51	10 03/17/51	FA ^b /P (Pol Cmr), C (Cdr), B (Both)	Branch ^d	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Status										Source or Comment	
								Education		1956		1966		1969		1971			
								Civil ⁱ	Military ^j	Party ^k	Mil ^k	Govt ^k	Mil ^k	Party ^k	Govt ^k	Mil ^k	Party ^k		Govt ^k
PEKING NR																			
Cheng Wei-shan	1914	HUP	2	1	2	3	5	3											Disappd 12/70
Li Hsueh-feng	1907	SHI	1	1	1	1	1												"
Hsieh Fu-chih	1910	HUP	2	2	2	2	2			4		4	2	3	4				
Liu Ko-p'ing	1905	HOP	2	2	2	2	2												
Ch'en Hsien-luf			2	2	2	2	2												
Hsiao Wen-chiu			2	2	2	2	2												
Han Wei			1	1	1	1	1												
Wu Hsien-en		HUP	1	1	1	1	1												
T'eng Hai-ch'ing	1911	HON	2	2	2	2	2												
Chang Nan-sheng		FU	2	2	2	2	2												
Wu Tai		KIU	3	3	3	3	3												
Li Chi-t'ai		KIU	3	3	3	3	3												
Chi Shih-tang			3	3	3	3	3												
Chang P'ai-ch'un			3	3	3	3	3												
Yang Yung	1908	HUN	2	2	2	2	2												Disappd 3/67
Wang Chin-shan			2	2	2	2	2												
Chu Liang-ts'ai	1907	HUN	1	1	1	1	1												
Liu Shao-ven			2	2	2	2	2												
Lo Yuan-fa			2	2	2	2	2												Disappd mid 71

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Hailongjiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HU; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shantung = SH; Shanai = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central.

c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. NR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

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a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1935; G4 = 1/1937-7/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1943; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-5/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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Name	No.	No.	FA ^b /P (Vol. Cmar), C (Gdr), B (Both)										Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Status								Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P (Pol. Centr.), C (Cdr.), B (Both)	Education												Status												Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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a. 6 = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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c. FE = Final Estimate

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e. Branch. 1 = Artillery; 2 = Engineers; 3 = Infantry; 4 = Cavalry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^c	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education										Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

Name	No. of Birth	No. of Military Service	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	G ^a	Education												Combat ^g	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Omsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education					Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
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[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P (Pol. Centr), C (Cdr), B (Both)	NR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Asst ^h	Education					Status					Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hubei = HU; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Minghsia = MI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHC; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TII; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 1/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army, 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region, 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Koming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch, 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat, 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience, 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-); h. Award = Award, 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; i. Civil education, 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; j. Military education, 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; k. Mil = Military positions, 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services); l. Party = Party positions, 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee); m. Govt = Government positions, 1 = Municipal (mayor, director); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers); NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /p(Pol Gmsr), G(Gdr), B(Both)												Combat ^g	Branch ^e	Education ^d	Status						Source or Comment							
			FA ^b /p(Pol Gmsr), G(Gdr), B(Both)															1956													
			C ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a	G ^a				Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Party ^j
HONAN MD																															
Chang Shu-chih	1913	HUN	2																												
Ch'en Kuei-ch'ang		(3)																													
Liu Chien-hsien	1908	HOP	3																												
Wang Hsin		3																													
Tu Ho-t'i		(3)																													
Yang Shu-yuan		(3)																													
Su Ao		2																													
Wu Chih-p'u	1906	HON	1																												
Ho Yun-hung		3																													
Wang Ch'uan-kuo	1915	HUN	2																												
Yu Shih-kuei		3																													
Pi Chan-yin	1908	HUN	2																												
Huang Hsin-yu		(3)																													
P'an Fu-sheng	1905	SHU	1																												
Lu Yang		(4)																													
Wang Hui																															

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Ghekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Kopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KJI; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KWI; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TII; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Ganton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineer; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Command. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. MII = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Gmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

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a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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k. ML = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Service)

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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Dismissed
1967

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to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Hunan = HON; Hopei = HOP; Kiangsu = KS; Kweichow = KW; Szechwan = SZ; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G. Military: 12/1936: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P (Pol Cnstr), C (Cdr), B (Civ)										Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education				Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), S (Both)												Combat ⁸	LC ^f	Branch ^g	Education					Status				Source of Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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c. FE = Final Estimate

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h. Award; 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; 4 = "Civil education" medal; 5 = study in USSR

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[illegible]

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	F.A./P(Pol Cnstr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Education		Status								Source or Comment
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12									
LIAONING MD																							
Li Tao-chih																							
Yang Ch'i																							
Chang Mai-t'ang																							
Huang Hui-liang																							
Ho Ch'ing-chi																							
Chao Ch'eng-chin																							
Huang Huo-ch'ing																							
Huang Ou-tung																							
T'an K'ai-yin																							
Li Tsai-han																							
T'ien Hua-i																							

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d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	c ^a	b/P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												MR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education				Status								Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
				FA/P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)																	Civil ⁱ	Military ^j		1956				1966				1969				1971																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
				E1	E2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12							1	2	3	4	5	Mil ^k	Party ^l	Govt ^m	Mil	Party	Govt		Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party

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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /F(Pol Comar), C(Cdr), B(Both)										LC ^f	Combat ^g	Aud ^h	Education										Status					Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
				G1 G2 G3 G4 G5 G6 G7 G8 G9 G10 G11 G12													Branch ^e	Civil ⁱ	Military ^j					1956					1966					1971																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10						11	12	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AS; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hubei = HU; Hunan = HN; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kiu-chow = KW; Kwangtung = KW; Kwangsi = KS; Kwangchow = KC; Liaoning = LIA; Ningbo = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shantung = SH; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TT; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1925; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central.

c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). Aud = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1st" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. MI = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, director); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	PA ^b /P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Education		Status						Source or Comment
			G ^a	G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	E10	E11	E12	E13	E14	E15	E16	E17	
SHENSI MD																					
Huang Ching-yao			2																		
Hsu Li-shu			3																		
Ku Feng-ming																					
Yuan Ko-fu			2																		
Hsiung Kuang-yen			(2)																		
Li Jui-shan			HOP (3)																		
Liu Chen																					
Hu Ping-yun			SZ	2																	
Chang K'ai-chi			3																		
Min Hung-yi			2																		
Niu Shu-shen			SHE	2																	
Yang Chia-lui			1916 HUP	2																	
Hu Yao-pang			HUN (3)																		
Hu Wei			HON	3																	
Sun Ch'ang-hsin			4																		

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal
i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military Positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P (Pol. Cmt), C (Cdr), S (Both)												Combat	Ad ^h	Education					Status						Source or Comment		
			a														b					c								
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12			Civil	Military	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt		
TSINGHAI MD																														
Chang Chi-ang-lin			(3)																											
Tsang Cheng			3																											
Sung Ch'ang-keng			(2)																											
Wu Shih-chieh																														
Lu Chih-an																														
Lu Ching-hsuan																														
Li Te-chang																														
Liu Hsien-ch'uan	1915	FU	2																											
Chao Ping-lun			2																											
Yang Chih-lin	1907		2																											
Wang Wen-yang			3																											
Chi Wei-chuan			6																											
Li Shu-mou			(1)																											
Kao Wei-sung		SHE	(3)																											

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AH; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopen = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangai = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LI; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shanai = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunsing; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955-1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal
i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany
j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers
k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)
l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)
m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P(Pol. Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Education		Status				Source or Comment
			G ^a	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	E11	E12	E13	E14	E15	
YUNHAN MD																			
Li Hsi-fu			1																
Hsiung K'uei			2																
Chou Hsing	1908	KII	1																
Li Ming			(3)																
Ma T'ao-chih																			
Wang Pi-ch'eng	1912	HUN	2																
Ch'en K'ang	1915	HUP	2																
Chu Chia-pi		YU	3																
Ting Yi			3																
Chou Hsiang-1																			
Chin Ju-pai			3																
Hung Ch'iao-ming	Q12	HUP	(3)																
Ch'ien Hsi-ch'iao			(3)																
Liang T'ien-hsi			(3)																
Wang Yin-shan																			

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei - AN; Chakiang - CH; Fukien - FU; Hsiungkiang - HE; Honan - HON; Hopeh - HOP; Hunan - HUN; Hupeh - HUP; Inner Mongolia - IM; Kansu - KA; Kiangsi - KII; Kiangsu - KI; Kirin - KIR; Kuangai - KU; Kuangtung - KWA; Kuangchow - KWE; Liaoning - LIA; Ninghsia - NI; Peking - PE; Shanghai - SHG; Shansi - SHI; Shantung - SHU; Shensi - SHE; Sinkiang - SIK; Szechwan - SZ; Tibet - TIB; Tientsin - TIT; Tsinghai - TSI; Yunnan - YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Strait (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cdr;

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

1. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

1. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

1. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

1. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Appendix C

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

SOURCES: *Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 and 5,
Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969/70.

Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute
of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Members,
A71-11, Department of State, Washington, D.C.,
April 1971.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^a /P(Pol Gusr), G(Gdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd ^h	Education					Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
			1st FA		2nd FA		3rd FA		4th FA		5th FA		Civil ⁱ	Military ^j				1956	1966		1969		1971																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10							G11	G12	1	2	3	4	5	Mil ^k		Party ¹	Mil	Govt ^m	Mil	Party	Govt ^m	Mil	Party	Govt ^m																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
Mao Tse-tung	1893	HUN	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hubei = HU; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1942; G6 = 9/1943-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. GR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Whan; 12 = Center

e. branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LG = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison and navy base cmd); 3 = MR Gmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Coth)	Branch ^c	Combat ^d	Awd ^h	Education					Status												Source or Comment								
							Civil ⁱ					Military ^j					1956				1966				1971							
							1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	Party ^k	Govt ^l	Mil ^m	Party ⁿ	Govt ^o	Mil ^p	Party ^q	Govt ^r	Mil ^s	Party ^t	Govt ^u	Mil ^v	Party ^w	Govt ^x	Mil ^y	
K'ang Sheng	1903	SHU	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	4														
Kao Wei-sung		SHE	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Keng Piao	1902	HUN	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6															
K'uang Jen-nung			2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
K'ung Shih-ch'uan	1917	KII	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Zuo Mo-lo	1891	SZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Lai Chi-fa	1905	SZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Chen	1905		3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2															
Li Ch'iang				6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6															
Li Fu-ch'un	1900	HUN	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6															
Li Hsien-nien	1906	HUP	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2															
Li Hsien-feng	1907	SHI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Jui-shan		HOP	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Shui-ch'ing	1919	KII	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Shun-fa		SHI		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Sau-huang	1889	HUP	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Su-yen (f)				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Ta-chang	1895	SZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li Te-sheng		HUP	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Li T'ien-yu	1910	SHI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AH; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KWI; Kuangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIR; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TII; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army; 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region

e. Branch. 1 = Fuchow; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wharf; 12 = Center

f. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KI; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1951; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central.

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region

e. Branch. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

f. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

g. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

h. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

i. NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

n. NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P(Pol. Cntr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education										Status						Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Hailongkiang = HF; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hubei = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KW; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SH; Shantung = SH; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SX; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army; 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region; 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Manchuria; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch: 1 = Artillery; 2 = Engineers; 3 = Infantry; 4 = Signal Corps; 5 = Public Security Force; 6 = Air Force; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-71)

h. Awd = Award: 1 = "August 1st" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education: 1 = P-grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education: 1 = Basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. MLI = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol. Char), C(Cdr), B(Both)												M ^d Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Award ^h	Education					Status						Source# of Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Kiangsu = KS; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIR; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'angtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955-1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1st" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = Grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (t.s. bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

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Alternate Members Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), B (Both)												M ^d	Branch ^e	L ^f	Combat ^g	Education					Status					Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; KII = Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kuangtung = KWA; Kwetchow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shensi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SRE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1949; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army: 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tientsin; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch: 1 = Artillery; 2 = Infantry; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Signal Corps; 5 = Railway Corps; 6 = General Political Department; 7 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 8 = Public Security Force; 9 = Air Force; 10 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. MI = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gun Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	b FA / P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), B (Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education								Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AH; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Kiangsu = KS; Kiangsi = KI; Kweichow = KW; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KT; Kwantung = KW; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shantung = SH; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SX; Szechuan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TT; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army; 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region; 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center.

e. Branch: 1 = Army; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1967); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). h. Awd = Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

i. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. Mil = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = HQ Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Appendix D

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE
EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

- SOURCES: *Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 and 2,
Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969-1970.
- Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute
of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.
- Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark, *Biographic
Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965*, Vols.
1 and 2, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.,
1971.

FULL MEMBERS Name	b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), R(Both)	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Aud ^h	Education					Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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An Tzu-wen	1904	SHI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Kiangsu = KS; Kweichow = KW; Kwangtung = KT; Kwantung = KW; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LI; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SH; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-1/1971.

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c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center.

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

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h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Y.O.B.	Sex	C	G	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd ^h	Status												Source or Comment												
					Education																																							
					1956																																							
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30										
					Civil ⁱ					Military ^j					Govt ^k					Party ^l					1966					1969					1971									
Chen Jn	1886	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Ho Lung	1895	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hai Chung-hsün	1908	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsiao Ching-kuang	1903	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsiao Hua	1915	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsiao K'o	1907	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsieh Fu-chih	1907	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien	1902	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsu T'e-li	1887	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hsu Kuang-ta	1902	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hu Ch'iao-mu	1907	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Hu Yao-pang	1913	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Huang Ching	1911	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
Huang K'e-ch'ene	1899	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
K'ang Sheng	1903	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											
K'o Ch'ing-shih	1900	M	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											

Key to Place of Birth: Anwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hubei = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KI; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LI; Ninghsia = NT; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHC; Shaansi = SHI; Shantung = SHS; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TII; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1968; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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c. FE = Fleet Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center

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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Tiansing; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1963-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1963-). h. Avd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = Grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nankin Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. MII = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, Garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Near Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov rev committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA/P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education										Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhui = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kuai-chow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHE; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SNE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 5/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central.

c. PE = Political Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Whan; 12 = Center.

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. MI = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Arms; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955-1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).)

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k. Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military positions); 3 = Soviet advisers

l. Party = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Alternate Members Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Combat ^g	LC ^f	Branch ^e	Ad ^h	Education												Status												Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
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Chang Ai-p'ing	1909	SZ	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Hunan = HUN; Hopeh = HOP; Kiangsu = KIU; Kiangsi = KS; Kweichow = KW; Kwangtung = KT; Kwangsi = KW; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Szechwan = SZ; Shensi = SH; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet border (1965-). h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. H1 = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	MR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	ComLia ^g	Awd ^h	Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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a. G = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Army; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps;

6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles);

9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR;

5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College;

4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. ML = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit);

2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd;

4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party com-

mittees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing

Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolu-

tionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												MR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Status												Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan; 12 = Center

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy; 12 = Center

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

Appendix E

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF MINISTERS AND VICE MINISTERS
OF THE STATE COUNCIL
1956, 1966, 1969, 1971

- SOURCES: 1957 *Jen-min Shou-ch'e* (1957 People's Handbook), Ta Kung Pao, Peking, April 1957.
- Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 and 2, Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969/70.
- Directory of Chinese Communist Officials*, A71-14, Department of State, Washington, D.C., May 1971.
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- China News Summary*, Hong Kong, No. 368 (13 May 1971), No. 375 (1 July 1971), and No. 376 (8 July 1971).
- 1970 *Chung Kung Nien Pao* (1970 Yearbook on Chinese Communism), Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, Taipeh, 1970.
- 1971 *Chung Kung Nien Pao* (1971 Yearbook on Chinese Communism), Institute for the Study of Chinese Communist Problems, Taipeh, 1971.
- Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.
- Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark, *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965*, Vols. 1 and 2, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "available" in case conference.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmar), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education												Combat ^e	Branch ^e LC ^f	MB ^d	Source or Govt Comment			
				Civil ¹			Military ²			1956			1966							1971		
				1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2					3	4	5
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE																						
Liao Lu-yen	1908	KIU 2	Became	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
Yang Hsien-tung	1908																					
Ts'ai Tsu-wei		SHE																				
Ku Ts-ch'uan																						
Liu Jui-lung		KIU 1																				
Ho Chi-feng	1897	HOP 6																				
Ch'eng Chao-hsien																						
Ku Chen	1920	SZ																				
Chu Jung																						
Chiang I-chen																						

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground);
 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion
 8. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
 h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal
 i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR;
 5 = study in Germany
 j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College;
 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers
 k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit);
 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = ME Cmd;
 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)
 l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)
 m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)
 NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Education				Status				Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
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a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 5/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1943; G6 = 9/1943-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Shinkiang; 2 = Kuming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'angtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch: 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

i. Civil education: 1 = Grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. MI = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (rail districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MI Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education										Status						Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking;

6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps;

6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles);

9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /F(Pol Cnstr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education			Status				Source or Comment		
				Military			1956		1966			1969	
				1	2	3	Govt ^m	Party ⁿ	Govt ^m	Party ⁿ		Govt ^m	Party ⁿ
MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATION													
Chang Po-chün	1896	AN	1										
Li Yün-ch'ang	1908	HOP (2)	5										
Chu Li-chih			1										
Ma Hui-chih (M)	1911	HUN											
Pan Ch'ü													
Sun Ya-kuang													
T'an Chen													
Yü Mei	1922	KIU											
Chu T'ien-shun													
Hsiao Min													
Ko Chen													
T'ao Ch'ü													
P'eng Te-ch'ing (M)													
Ma Yao-chi													
Kuo Lu													
Yang Chieh (M)													

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IN; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KWI; Kuangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NT; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHO; Shanai = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.											
a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1943; G6 = 9/1943-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.											
b. FA = Field Army: 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central											
c. FE = Field Estimate											
d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Chengto; 7 = Puchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tainan; 11 = Wuhan											
e. Branch: 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 1 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy											

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion											
g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).											
h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal											
i. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany											
j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers											
k. H1 = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (all districts,arrison unit, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)											
l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)											
m. Govt = government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)											
NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.											

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kiri = KIR; Kwangtung = KW; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangchow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-1/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army: 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = FE-1 Estimate

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch: 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-); h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; i. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; k. 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

l. Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, Garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

m. Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

n. Govt = government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

[illegible]

[illegible]

Key to Place of Birth: AN = Anhui; HN = Hunan; HOP = Hop; HU = Huai; KANG = Kang; KHAN = Khan; KI = Kiangsu; KUO = Kuangtung; LIU = Liu; LUO = Luo; MA = Ma; MONGOLIA = Mongolia; NI = Ningxia; PE = Peking; SHANGHAI = Shanghai; SHEN = Shen; SIKI = Sinkiang; SMI = Sinkiang; SIN = Szechwan; SZ = Tibet; TIB = Tientsin; TSI = Tsinghai; YUN = Yun.

a. G = Military Generation; G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1966; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army; 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region; 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking;

e. Branch; 1 = Anwei; 2 = Fuchow; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missile); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education										Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
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1. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

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h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopei = HO; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HU; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SH; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TI; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1966; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tientsin; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-); 6 = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

h. Adv = Award. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

i. Civil education. 1 = Military education. 1 = Basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

j. Military education. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen. Pol. Dept., Gen. Rear Services)

k. M1 = Military positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, director); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Y o b	M o b	D o b	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr.), B(Both)	M ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^h	Awd ^h	Education				Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AH; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hubei = HUP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KIL; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kuangtung = KMA; Kuichow = KUE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunan = YU.

a. C = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army: 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch: 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-); 6 = Award - 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal.

i. Civil education: 1 = Grade school; 2 = High school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

j. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. ML = Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (rail districts, Garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committee; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions: 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committee, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Cnstr), C(Cdr), B(Bioeth)												MR ^d	LC ^f	Branch ^e	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education						Status						Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopen = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KI; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military General; n: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch. 1 = Artillery; 2 = Engineers; 3 = Infantry; 4 = Signal Corps; 5 = Railway Corps; 6 = General Political Department; 7 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 8 = Public Security Force; 9 = Air Force; 10 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; 4 = Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

i. Military education. 1 = Basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

j. Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

k. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committee); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

l. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	a	b. FA/P(Pol Cmr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Combat ^g	Education	Status				Source or Comment
				G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12			1956	1966	1969	1971	
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE																						
P'eng Te-huai	1899	HUN	1																			
Huang Ko-ch'eng	1899	HUN	1																			
T'an Cheng	1903	HUN	1																			
Hsiao Ching-kuang	1903	HUN	1																			
Wang Shu-sheng	1905	HUP	1																			
Hsiao Ko	1907	HUN	1																			
Li Ta	1902	SHE	1																			
Liao Han-sheng	1910	HUN	1																			
Liu Piao	1907	HUP	1																			
Su Yü	1910	HUN	1																			
Hsi Kuang-ta	1902	HUN	1																			
Hsi Shih-yu	1908	HUP	1																			
Lo Jui-ch'ing	1901	SZ	1																			

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion
g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).
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k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)
l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)
m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)
NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	C ^a	F ^b / P (Pol. Csr), C (Cdr), S (Soc)												M ^d	Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education				Status				Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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a. G = Military Generation. G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet border (1965-).
h. Award = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal
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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govts); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmar), C(Cdr), B(Both)	MR ^d	Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd ^h	Education				Status						Source or Comment	
									Civil ⁱ	Mil ⁱ	Govt ⁱ	Mil ⁱ	Party	Govt ⁱ	Mil ⁱ	Party	Govt ⁱ	Mil ⁱ		
									1	2	3	4	5	1956	1966	1969	1971			
MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY																				
Lo Jui-ch'ing	1901	SZ	1	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Wang Tung-hsing		KII	2	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Yang Ch'i-ch'ing	1908	HUN	1	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Wang Chin-hsiang		KII	3	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Hsu Tzu-lung	1908	HON	1	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Chou Hsing	1908	KII	1	4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Ling Yün				4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Liu Fu-chih				4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
YU Sang	1920			4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Hsieh Fu-chih (M)				4/4	4	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Yientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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h. Avd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

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k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Eoch)												Education	Status				Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1st" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

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[illegible]

Appendix F - Part I

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF OFFICIALS
IN PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEES AND GOVERNMENT,*
1956-1966

- SOURCES: 1957 *Jen-min Shou-ch'e* (1957 People's Handbook),
Ta Kung Pao, Peking, April 1957.
- Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 and 2, Union
Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969/70.
- Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute
of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.
- Directory of Party and Government Officials of
Communist China*, BP271, Department of State,
July 1960.

*Including the Peking, Shanghai, and Tientsin Municipal Party
committees and governments.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Combat ^g	LC ^f	Branch ^e	Education					Status					Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
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h. Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

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				C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11	C12	C13	C14	C15	C16	C17	1956	1966	1969	1971	
HOPEH																									
Lin T'ieh	1905	SZ	1																						
Yen Ta-k'ai		HOP																							
Chang Ch'eng-hsien		SHU																							
Kao Shu-hsien	1897	HOP	5																						
Ylan Po-sheng			4																						
Chang Ming-ho																									
Li Tzu-kuang																									
Ku Yin-t'ing																									
Liu Tzu-hou	1911	HOP(2)																							
Yang I-chou	1902	HOP																							
Wang Chin-shan																									
Wang Li	1918	KIU	4																						
Yang I-ch'eng	1911	HON(2)																							
Kuo Feng																									
Hsieh Hui	1913	SHU																							
Hao T'ien-i																									
Wang Tung-ning																									
Yang Lei-chih																									
Mao Kuo-jui																									

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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Chengtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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c. FE = Final Estimate

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h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independence Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education										Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^a /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Combat ^e	LC ^f	Branch ^g	NO ^d	Education					Status						Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan
e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps;
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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed,

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Comr), C(Cdr), S(Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education						Status						Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
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f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion
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 h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty"; 3 = "Liberation" medal
 i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR;
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[illegible]

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d. MR = Military Region; 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kuning; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

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PEKING Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	b/p/p (Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd. ^h	Education						Status						Source or Comment								
			FA/P (Pol Comr), C(Cdr), B(Both)															Branch ^e	Yr ^d	Civil ⁱ			Military ^j			1956			1966			1969			1971			
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12						1	2	3	4	5	Mil ^k	Party	Govt ^m	Mil	Party		Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil
Fan Ju-sheng			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
P'eng Chen	1902	SHH 1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Chang Yu-yü	1899	SHU (2)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Wu Han	1911	CH	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Wang K'un-lun	1900	KTU	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Hsieh Tzu-cheng	1907	SZ (2)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Feng Chi-p'ing			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Ch'eng Hung-i	1915	SHH	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Chia T'ing-sa			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Yfieh Sung-sheng		HOF	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Wan Li		SZ	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Wang Ch'un			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Chao Fan			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Fan Chin		HUP	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Ts'ui Yueh-li (f)	1920	HOP	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Liu Jen	1903	HOP	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Ch'en P'eng			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Cheng T'ien-hsiang			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Ch'en K'o-han		KTU	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					
Teng T'o	1911	SHU 2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	Purged					

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	b. P/P (Pol Comar), C (Cdr), B (Both)												Education	Status								Source or Comment
				G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12		1956	1966	1969	1971	1971	1971	1971	1971	
SHANGHAI																									
Ch'ea I	1900	SZ	1														4	Major							Died 1/72
Niu Shu-ts'ai																	2								
Liu Chi-p'ing																	2	V. Min.							1/67 Purged
Liu Shu-chou																	2								Purged
Sung Jih-ch'ang																	2								
Sung Chi-wen	1920	AN															2								Purged
Chin Chung-hua		CH															2								Purged
Jung I-ien	1916	KIU															2								Purged
Chao Tzu-k'ang	1900	KIU															2								Purged
Hsu Chien-kuo		HUP															2	Amb. to Albania	Arrested by Red Guard						1968
Sheng P'ei-hua	1903	CH															2								Died 1961
Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu	1909	SZ	(2)														2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged
Hu Ch'ieh-wen	1889	KIU															2								Purged
Li Kan-ch'eng																	2								Purged
Li Kuang-ien																	2								Purged
Shih Ying																	2								Purged
K'o Ch'ing-shih	1900	AN	1														2								Purged
Ma T'ien-shui			(3)														2								Died 1965
Ch'en P'ei-hsien	1912	FU	1														2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged

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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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h. Awd = Award. 1 = "August 1st" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; 4 = Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

i. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

j. Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)										Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g Awd ^h	Education					Status					Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
				G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10			G11	G12	MR	1956					1966					1971																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
																			Civilian	Military	1	2	3	4	5		Mil ^k	Party ^j	Govt ^m	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party

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			G ^a																Civil ¹	Military ²	1956		1966		1969		1971												
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12							Party ¹	Govt ^m	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil	Party	Govt	Mil		Party	Govt							
SHANTUNG																																							
Ch'ao Chien-min	1905	SHU	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Ch'ao Che-fu	1898	HON	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Liu Min-sheng	1916	SHU	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Li Ch'eng-chih			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Yulan Tzu-yang	1898	SHU	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Yu Hsiu			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Miao Hai-nan	1902	SHU	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Li Yi-ch'ao			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Pai Ju-ping	1906	SHE 3	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Li YL-ang	1898	SZ	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Li Tsai-wen	1916	SHU	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Ch'en Lei			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Kao Ch'i-yin			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Mu Jin			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Su I-tan		AN	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Shu T'ung	1906	KII 1	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Hsia Cheng-ung			5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
T'an Chi-lung	1912	HUN 2	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										
Shih Che		HON(3)	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Purged										

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h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Miscellaneous); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

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[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P (Pol Cnstr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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[illegible]

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	PA/P(Pol. Cmar), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education	Status	Source or Comment
Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	PA/P(Pol. Cmar), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education	Status	Source or Comment
TIBET						
Ta-lai-la-ma (Dala)	1933	TSM(6)				
Chang Kuo-hua (Lama)	1915	KIT 2				
A-P'ei-a-wang-chin-mei	1909	TIB				
Chou Jen-shan		TSH				
Hsieh-fao-teng-chu		TIB				
Kuo Hsi-lan		SHI				
Hao P'ing-nan						
Jen Ming-cao						
Ma Kuei-shu						
Miao P'ei-i						
T'an Kuan-san	1908					
Wang Ch'i-pei						
Yang Tung-sheng						
Fan Ming						
Hsia Fu-jen						

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AH; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopei = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KWI; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHE; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SNE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central FA.

c. FE = Final Estimate.

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan.

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion.

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-). h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal; 4 = Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany.

i. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers.

k. MIL = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison and, navy base cmd); 3 = MIL Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureau); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee).

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Branch ^e	Combat ^g	Awd ^h	Education										Status						Source or Govt Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														
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f. LG = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Awd = Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. ML = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												Combat ^g	Education					Status								Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangai = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Minghsia = MI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Cl. II educator. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. M1 = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov gov); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Appendix F - Part II

BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF OFFICIALS
IN PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEES AND REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES,
1969-1971

- SOURCES: Huang Chen-hsia, *Mao's Generals*, Research Institute of Contemporary History, Hong Kong, 1968.
- Chinese Communist Party Provincial Leaders*, A71-31, Department of State, Washington, D.C., November 1971.
- Directory of Chinese Communist Officials*, A71-14, Department of State, Washington, D.C., May 1971.
- Supplement to Directory of Officials of the People's Republic of China*, CR 71-14A, Department of State, Washington, D.C., February 1972.
- Who's Who in Communist China*, Vols. 1 and 2, Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1969/70.
- Interviews by the author with officials of American Consulate General, Hong Kong, March 1972.
- Communist China Revolutionary Government in the Provinces*, Department of State, Washington, D.C., December 1968.
- Chinese Communist Who's Who*, Institute of International Relations, Taipeh, 1970/71, Vols. 1 and 2.

NOTE: In "Name" column, [M] = Military; [C] = Civilian; [F] = Female; and + preceding name = member of both Provincial Party and Revolutionary committees.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	F ^b /P (Pol. Caste), C (Cdr.), H (Both)												LC ^e	Branch ^d	Combat ⁸	Education					Status					Source of Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)	Education										Status						Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
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a. G = Military Generation: (1 = Pre-May 1928; 2 = 1928-11/1931; 3 = 12/1931-12/1936; 4 = 1/1937-12/1940; 5 = 1/1941-8/1945; 6 = 9/1945-10/1950; 7 = 11/1950-9/1954; 8 = 10/1954-9/1959; 9 = 10/1959-12/1963; 10 = 1/1964-1/1967; 11 = 2/1967-3/1969; 12 = 4/1969-12/1971).

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c. FE = Final Estimate

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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

f. LC = Level of Combat. 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience. 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-).

h. Award. 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independent Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

i. Civil education. 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

j. Military education. 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisers

k. M1 = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers)

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	FA ^a /P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), B (Both)												Branch ^e LC ^f	Combat ^g	Award ^h	Education								Status								Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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c. FE = Final Estimate.

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k. Mil = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (mil districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services).

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m. Govt = Government positions. 1 = Municipal (mayor, directors); 2 = Provincial (prov revolutionary committees, prov govt); 3 = Regional; 4 = National (State Council, ministers).

NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	C ^a	FA ^b /P(Pol Cmsr), C(Cdr), B(Both)												8branch ^e	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Avd ^h	Education					Status								Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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a. G = Military Generation: C1 = Pre-May 1928; C2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	b/P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), B (Both)										Education		Status								Source or	
				FA, P (Pol Comr), C (Cdr), B (Both)										Civilian		1956				1969				1971	
				G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
KIANGSU CCP																									
Hsu Shih-yu [M]	1907	HUP	1																						
Tu P'ing [M]	1906	KWA	1																						
+Wu Ta-sheng [M]			(4)																						
+P'eng Ch'ung [C]		FU	(3)																						
+Yang Kuang-li [M]			(4)																						
REV. COMMITTEE																									
Ch'ien Yung-ch'ing																									
Hsu Ch'ao-tun [C]																									
Hua Liu-sen																									
Wang Ch'ao-chu [C]																									
Wang T'ing [M]																									
Chiang Ko																									
Chao Kuei-hsiang																									

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hubei = HUP; Hunan = HUN; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KW; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SH; Shansi = SH; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SE; Sinkiang = SI; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TI; Tsinghai = TS; Yunnan = YU.

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b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Chengtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tai. in; 11 = Wuhan

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

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			G1 G2 G3 G4 G5 G6 G7 G8 G9 G10 G11 G12														Branch ^e	LC ^f	1956					1966			1969			1971																																																																																								
			G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10	G11	G12					Civil ⁱ	1	2	3	4	5	Mil ^k	1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92

KWICHOW CCP																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Hsiang-kang = HK; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KII; Kiangsu = KIU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	FA ^b /P (Pol Cmsr), C (Cdr), B (Both)												Branch ^c	LC ^f	Combat ^g	Education ^j	Status										Source or Comment																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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k. M1 = Military positions. 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (all districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

l. Party = Party positions. 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committee, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

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a. G = Military Generation: G1 = Pre-May 1928; G2 = 6/1928-11/1931; G3 = 12/1931-12/1936; G4 = 1/1937-12/1940; G5 = 1/1941-8/1945; G6 = 9/1945-10/1950; G7 = 11/1950-9/1954; G8 = 10/1954-9/1959; G9 = 10/1959-12/1963; G10 = 1/1964-1/1967; G11 = 2/1967-3/1969; G12 = 4/1969-12/1971.

b. FA = Field Army; 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region: 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kwantung; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch: 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

f. LC = Level of Combat: 1 = Army; 2 = Corps (air or ground); 3 = Division (air or ground); 4 = Regiment (air or ground); 5 = Battalion

g. Combat experience: 1 = Korea (1950-53); 2 = Taiwan Straits (1955, 1958, 1962); 3 = Sino-Indian Border (1962); 4 = North Vietnam (1965-1971); 5 = Sino-Soviet Border (1965-); 6 = Award: 1 = "Aug. 1" medal; 2 = "Independence Liberty" medal; 3 = "Liberation" medal

h. Civil education: 1 = grade school; 2 = high school; 3 = college; 4 = study in USSR; 5 = study in Germany

i. Military education: 1 = basic school; 2 = Anti-Japanese College; 3 = Nanking Staff College; 4 = Peking War College; 5 = Soviet advisors

j. Military positions: 1 = unit level (corps, air corps, air division, navy unit); 2 = Provincial level (military districts, garrison cmd, navy base cmd); 3 = MR Cmd; 4 = National level (General Staff, Gen Pol Dept., Gen Rear Services)

k. Party = Party positions: 1 = Municipal committees; 2 = Provincial level (prov party committees, prov reg committees); 3 = Regional (reg bureaus); 4 = National (Standing Committee, Politburo, Central Committee, Military Affairs Committee)

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NOTE: Data in parentheses are "probable," not confirmed.

Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	G ^a	b ^b P/P (Pol. Qnstr), C (Cdr), B (Both)										Education			Status				Source or Comment	
				FA 23 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73										1956			1966					
				1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12										1966			1971					
SHACHUAN CCP																						
Chang Kuo-hua [M]	1912	KIN	2																			
Chang Hsing-ch'iu [M]	1911	HUN	1																			
Li Ta-chang [C]	1910	SZ	1																			
Hsieh Chia-hsiang [M]			(3)																			
Tsun Chih-1 [C]	1912	SH	3																			
Hsieh Cheng-jung [M]			(4)																			
Hsieh Ch'ih [C]			(6)																			
Ho Yun-feng [M]			(4)																			
REV. COMMITTEE																						
Chang Hai-t'ing [CF]																						
Chang Sau-chou [C]																						
Chiang Hai-yin																						
Feng Yu-te																						
Liu Chieh-t'ing [M]			(4)																			
P'eng Chia-chih [C]																						
Tan K'un-jung [C]			(10)																			
Teng Hsing-kuo [C]																						
Ts'ai Wen-pin																						
Yang Chih-ch'eng																						

Key to Place of Birth: Anhwei = AN; Chekiang = CH; Fukien = FU; Heilungkiang = HE; Honan = HON; Hopeh = HOP; Hunan = HUN; Hupeh = HUP; Inner Mongolia = IM; Kansu = KA; Kiangsi = KI; Kiangsu = KU; Kirin = KIR; Kwangsi = KW; Kwangtung = KWA; Kweichow = KWE; Liaoning = LIA; Ninghsia = NI; Peking = PE; Shanghai = SHG; Shansi = SHI; Shantung = SHU; Shensi = SHE; Sinkiang = SIK; Szechwan = SZ; Tibet = TIB; Tientsin = TIT; Tsinghai = TSI; Yunnan = YU.

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b. FA = Field Army. 1 = 1st FA; 2 = 2nd FA; 3 = 3rd FA; 4 = 4th FA; 5 = North China FA; 6 = Central

c. FE = Final Estimate

d. MR = Military Region. 1 = Sinkiang; 2 = Kunming; 3 = Nanking; 4 = Canton; 5 = Peking; 6 = Ch'engtu; 7 = Fuchow; 8 = Lanchow; 9 = Shenyang; 10 = Tsinan; 11 = Wuhan

e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

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f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
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e. Branch. 1 = Armor; 2 = Artillery; 3 = Engineers; 4 = Infantry; 5 = Signal Corps; 6 = Railway Corps; 7 = General Political Department; 8 = 2nd Artillery (Missiles); 9 = Public Security Force; 10 = Air Force; 11 = Navy

Appendix G

CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

By Field Army Affiliation/Military Region Affiliation/
Korean War Experience

1. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS AT THE CENTER

[illegible]

Appendix G
1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS																					
	Korean war		Field Army Affiliation												MR		Positions		Korean war		Field Army Affiliation												Positions		MR	
	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn										
MAC	1	2		1		1				3																										
Defense	2	3	1	1		2		1		5				2	3	1		2	1	1																
GSD	1	2		1	2				4	3	3			4	1		2	1	1	1																
GPD	1	2	1			2			1	3	2	1		2	2	1	2		1																	
GRS	1					1			4	1		1		4	1	1			4																	
Air Force	1					1			3	1	1			3	2			2	2																	
Navy		2				1	1		3	2	1	1		2	1		1	1	1																	
Armored		1		1				1	3		1				3			1	2																	
Artillery	1			1					2	1		1		3			1		2																	
Engineer		1				1			1	1		1			1			1																		
Pub. Sec.	1	3		3		1			4	1	3			1			1																			
Railway																																				
Signal		1					1		3	1	1			1	2		2		1																	
2nd Art.																																				
TOTAL	9	17	2	8	2	9	2	3	1	24	25	18	8	1	22	16	3	9	7	16	2		14	37	9	28										

Appendix G
1 (continued) -- 1966-1969

	D I S A P P E A R E D														N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S																		
	Korean war		Field Army Affiliation										MP		Positions			Korean war		Field Army Affiliation										Positions		MR	
Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn						
MAC		2	1	1						3	2	2		1									4	1		1							
Defense	1	2	2				1				3	1	2																				
GSD	4	1	1	1	1	1				3	5	1	4		4	2				6			2	6		6							
GPD	2	4	1	3		2					6	2	4										6										
GRS	3	1	1	1		2					4		4		1		1																
Air Force	3	1			2	2			1		5	1	3	1	1	1		1						3	2	1	1						
Navy	1	2		2		1				2	3				1	2	1		2				2	3	2	1							
Armored	2		2							2	2	2			1			1					1	2	2	1	1						
Artillery	2		1	1						1	2	1	1		2		1		1					1	2		2						
Engineer		1				1				1	1	1	1		1					1			1	1		1							
Pub. Sec.		2			1	1					3	2	1	1		4		1			1	1	1	1	4	2	1	1					
Railway	2	1	1			2							3		2	1		1	2					3	1	2							
Signal		1		1						1	1	1	1			2		2		1				2	1	1							
2nd Art.															2	3			4			1		5	2	3	1						
TOTAL	20	18	10	10	4	12	2		1	16	39	11	24	1	16	15	2	4	5	16	3	1	3	25	32	9	21	3					
															</																		

Appendix C
1 (continued) -- 1969-1971

	D I S A P P E A R E D														N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S													
	Korean war				Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR		Korean war				Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR	
	Yes		No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	
MAC											4				1								3	1			1	
Defense											3				2								3					
GSD											2				2				1					2			2	
GPD											6				2	1		2		1			3	3	1	2		
GRS	1				1						3	1		1	1	3				1			3	4		4		
Air Force											3				2	1		1		2				3		3		
Navy											2												2					
Armored	1			1						1	2	2		1	1	1		1					1	2	2	2		
Artillery											1				1				1						1		1	
Engineer											1																1	
Pub. Sec.											1												1					
Railway	2					1						2	1	1									1	1	1		1	
Signal												2		2			1						1	2		1	1	
2nd Art.	2			2								3	1	1	2	1			1	2				3		3		
TOTAL	1	5	1	4	3	1	1				28	10	2	6	12	7	2	5	2	7	1		6	15	23	3	18	2

Appendix G

2. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE FIRST FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix G
2 (continued) -- 1969

	DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS														
	Korean war				Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR		Korean war				Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR		
	Yes		No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-	Out-	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-	Out-	
	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider	sider
Lanchou MR	1	1	1										2	2															
Kansu		2	2								1	1	3	2										1	3	1		1	
Ninghsia		3	1			1					2		4	1			4	3		1					4	3	1		
Shensi		5	3	1	1								5	2	2	1	2	2			1	1			1	4	1	2	1
Tsinghai	1	3	2			2							4	2	2		1	3							1	3	3		
TOTAL	2	14	9	1	1	3					3	1	18	9	4	4	8	9		1	2	1		1	5	14	8	4	2
Sinkiang MR		6	6									1	6	6			3	1		3	1			2	5		4	1	
GRAND TOTAL	2	20	15	1	1	3					3	2	24	15	4	4	9	9		1	5	2		1	7	19	8	8	3

[illegible]

Appendix G

[illegible]

Appendix G
3 (continued) -- 1958-1966

DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS																
Korean war		Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR		Korean war		Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR				
Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	
	2		2							2	2		3			2	1					3	2	1		
	3		3							3	3		1	1		1		2				1	4	3	1	
	5		5							3	5		3	4	1	3	1	2				1	7	5	2	
	1		1							4	1	1	1	3	1	2					1	4	1	3		
	4		3		1					1	4		5		4		1					5	4	1		
	3		4					1		2	5		6		5				1		1	6	5	1		
	3		8		1			1		7	10	9	1	14	1	11		1		1	2	15	10	5		
	1				1					6	1		1	4		5		1			1	6	5	1		
	3		3								3	3	2	1	1	1	1					3	1	2		
	4		4								4	3	3		3					1		4	3		1	
	8		7		1					6	8	6	3	8	1	9	1	1			1	13	9	3	1	
	3		20		2			1		16	23	20	2	7	3	23	2	4		1	1	4	35	24	10	1

Appendix C
3 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED																									NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Korean war					Field Army Affiliation							Positions			Korean war					Field Army Affiliation							Positions			MR									
Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	MR	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	MR												
Chenetsu MR	1	5		5						6	6			4	2		2		4					6	4	2													
Tibet MD	2		2							1	2	2			3	1			2					3	3														
TOTAL	1	7		7		1				1	8	8		4	5	1	2		6					9	7	2													
Kunming MR	2	3	1	4						5	3	2		1	2		1	1	2			1		5	1	2	2												
Kee'chow	2		2							2	2				1		1					1		2	1		1												
Yunnan	3		3							3	3				1		1					1		2	1		1												
TOTAL	2	8	1	9						10	8	2		1	4		3	1	2			3		9	3	2	4												
Wuhan MR	2	4		5	1					1	6	5	1	4	2		3		2	1			1	6	3	3													
Honan	2		2							2	2				1		1					1	1	1	1														
Hupeh	1	2		3				1		4	3				2		2					1	3	2		1													
TOTAL	3	8		10	1			1		12	10	1	1	4	5		6		2	1			3	10	6	3	1												
GRAND TOTAL	6	23	1	26	1	1		1	2	30	26	3	1	9	14	1	11	1	10	1		3	4	28	16	7	5												

Appendix G
3 (continued) -- 1969-1971

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS																	
	Korean war		Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR		Korean war		Field Army Affiliation						Positions		MR					
	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn
Chengtu MR		1				1					1		1			1								1		1		
Tibet MR	2	1		1		2					3	2	1										2				2	
TOTAL	2	2		1		3					4	2	2			1							2			1	2	
Kunming MR		2		1		1			1		3	1	1			1						1	2		1		2	
Kweichow		2		2							2	2				1							1			1		
Yunnan										1	1			1		1			1				1			1		
TOTAL		4		3		1			2	1	6	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	1			1	3	1	6	1	2	3
Wuhan MR		1		1						1	1	1				2	1			1					2	1	1	
Honan		1		1						1	1	1				1									2	1	1	
Hupeh		2		2							2	2				1									2	1	1	
TOTAL		4		4						1	2	2				3		1		1			2	1	2		2	
GRAND TOTAL	2	10		8		4			2	4	14	9	3	2	1	6	2	2	2	1		1	7	3	15	2	5	8

4. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE THIRD FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

Appendix C
4 (continued) -- 1966-1969

4 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS																				
Korean war			Field Army Affiliation									Positions			MR			Korean war			Field Army Affiliation									Positions			MR		
Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn						
Fuchou MR	1	3	1		3						4	3	1		2	2				2	2					4	2	2							
Fukien MD		2			2						3	2		1		2				2						1	2	2							
Kiangsi	3	3			3	3					6	2	4		2	1				3	1	1			1	5	3	2							
TOTAL	4	8	1		8	3					13	7	5	1	4	5				7	3	1			2	11	7	4							
Nanking MR		3			3						3	3				3				3						3	3								
Anhui	1	2			3						3	3			3				1	2						3	3								
Chekiang	2	3			5						5	5			3	1				4				1		5	4	1							
Kiangsu	1	2		1	2				1		4	2	1	1		2				2					2	2	2								
TOTAL	4	10		1	13				1		15	13	1	1	6	6			1	11				1	2	13	12	1							
GRAND TOTAL	8	18	1	1	21	3			1		28	20	6	2	10	11			1	18	3	1		1	4	24	19	4	1						

Appendix G
4 (continued) -- 1969-1971

NEW APPOINTMENTS														
DISAPPEARED														
Korean war			Field Army Affiliation						MR			Positions		
Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn			Ukn	Total	
			Field Army Affiliation						MR			Positions		
Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Total	MR
			Field Army Affiliation						MR			Positions		
Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Total	MR
Fuchou MR	1	1			2				1	3	2	1	3	1
Fukien MD		1			1					1	1		2	2
Kiangsi													1	1
TOTAL	1	2			3				1	4	3	1	6	4
Nanking MR	3	1			3				1	4	4		1	3
Anhui	1				1					1	1		1	1
Chekiang														
Kiangsu		3			3					2	3	3	2	3
TOTAL	4	4			7				1	2	8	1	3	7
GRAND TOTAL	5	6			10				2	4	11	1	3	13

5. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE FOURTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

1956 - 1958

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix G
5 (continued) -- 1966-1969

5 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
Korean war				Field Army Affiliation										Positions				MR				Field Army Affiliation				Positions				MR																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
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[illegible]

6. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE FIFTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

Appendix G
6 (continued) -- 1966-1969

0 (continued) 1900-1909

NEW APPOINTMENTS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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Korean war			Field Army Affiliation										Positions			MR			Korean war			Field Army Affiliation										Positions			MR																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
Yes	No		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn	Yes	No	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																										
5				2		1	2				2	5	3	2		5	2		2		1	3																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														

[illegible]

Appendix H

CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS, 1956-1971

By Generation/Commander/Commissar

Appendix II

1. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS AT THE CENTER

[illegible]

Appendix H
1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED												NEW APPOINTMENTS											
	Functions			Generations						Positions			Functions			Generations						Positions		
	Cdr	Both	Onsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Cdr	Both	Onsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Ukn
				3							3													
MAC	1		2	3																				
Defense	3	1	1	5							5					5								5
GSD	3			3							4	3		3	2	3	2						2	5
CPD			3	2	1						1	3		1	3	1	3							4
GRS		1		1							4	1		2	1	2	1	2						5
Air Force		1			1						3	1				4	1	3						4
Navy	1		1	1		1					3	2		1	2		2	1					2	3
Armored	1				1					1	3	2		2		1	2	1					2	3
Artillery	1				1						2	1		2	1		1	2						3
Engineer		1	1		1						1	1				1	1						1	1
Public Security	3	1		2	2						4			1			1						3	1
Railway																								
Signal			1		1						3	1		1		2	2	1					1	3
2nd Artillery																								
TOTAL	13	5	9	17	8	1				1	24	27	16	9	12	16	14	7					14	37

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS													
	Functions			Generations						Positions		Functions			Generations						Positions			
	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total		
MAC	2			2							3	2	1										4	1
Defense	2	1		3							3												3	
GSD	3	2		5	2						3	5	4	2		3	2	1					2	6
GPD		1	5	3	3						6												6	
GRS	1	1	2	3		1					4			1									3	1
Air Force			4	1		3				1	5		1	1			2						3	2
Navy		2	1	1	2						2	3	2	1			2	1					2	3
Armored	1		1	2							2	2	1				1					1	2	2
Artillery	2			1			1				1	2	1	1			1	1					1	2
Engineer			1	1							1	1		1									1	1
Public Security	1		1		2						3	2	1	1			2					1	1	4
Railway	2		1	1	1	1						3	1	2		1	1	1					3	
Signal			1		1						1	1	2	1			2	1					3	
2nd Artillery													3	2			1	3		1			5	
TOTAL	14	6	17	21	11	5	1			1	16	39	17	5	8	4	15	10	1		2	28	33	
														</										

2. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE FIRST FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix H

3. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE SECOND FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

[illegible]

4. CHANGES IN MILITARY LEADERS IN THE 3RD FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

4 (continued) -- 1958-1968

DISAPPEARED													NEW APPOINTMENTS												
Functions			Generations						Positions		Functions			Generations						Positions					
Cdr	Both	Onsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Cdr	Both	Onsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total		
Yuehou MR	1				1					5	1	3	3	1	1	1	4						6		
Fukien MD	2			1	1					2	2	3	1	1	1	1	3						4		
Kiangsi	1			1					1		2	1	1	1		1	1						2		
TOTAL	4			2	2				1	7	5	7	5	1	3	8							12		
Nanking MR	1			1						3	1	2	2	2	1	1							4		
Anhwei	1		1								1	1					1						1		
Chekiang	1		1							1	1	1	1	1		2							2		
Kiangsu	2		1	1						2	2	2	1	1	2	1					1	1	4		
TOTAL	5		3	2						6	5	6	4	2	3	5					1	1	11		
GRAND TOTAL	9		3	4	2				1	13	10	13	9	3	6	13					1	1	23		

DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS													
Functions				Generations						Positions		Functions				Generations						Positions					
Cdr	Both	Onsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Cdr	Both	Onsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total			
Fuehou MR	1	2	1	1	1	2						4	1	1	2		2	2						4			
Fukien MD	1	1			1	1				1		3	1		1			2					1	2			
Kiangsi	3		3		4	2						6	3		2			3				2	1	5			
TOTAL	5	3	4	1	6	5				1		13	5	1	5		2	7				2	2	11			
Nanking MR			3		3							3			3		1	1	1					3			
Anhui	1		2	1	1	1						3					1	2						3			
Chekiang	2		3		4	1						5	2		2		1	2	1					5			
Kiangsu	2		1		3					1		4	1		1			1	1				2	2			
TOTAL	5		9	1	11	2				1		15	3		6		3	6	3			1	2	13			
GRAND TOTAL	10	3	13	2	17	7				2		28	8	1	11		5	13	3			3	4	24			

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix H
5 (continued) -- 1966-1969

	DISAPPEARED												NEW APPOINTMENTS											
	Functions						Generations						Functions						Generations					
	Cdr			Both			Omsr			1			Cdr			Both			Omsr			1		
	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Ukn	Ukn	Total
Canton MR	4		6										4		6				2			3		6
Hunan MD	3		5										2		5				1			2		4
Kwangsi	1		2												2									
Kwangtung	1		2												2									
TOTAL	9	1	15	6	5	11	1						6		15				4			3		11
Senyang MR	2	1	3	4	1	1							4	1	6	1	1	1	1	4		1		7
Heilungkiang			3			3									3				2					2
Kirin	1		2		2	1							1		3							1		2
Liaoning	1		1	1	1										2									1
TOTAL	4	1	9	5	4	2	3						5	1	14	5	1	3	1	5	1	1	2	10
GRAND TOTAL	13	2	14	11	9	5	4						11	1	29	11	1	7	1	4	8	5	3	21

[illegible]

[illegible]

6. (continued) — 1909-1971

DISAPPEARED													NEW APPOINTMENTS												
Functions				Generations						Positions			Functions				Generations						Positions		
Cdr	Both	Qnsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total	Cdr	Both	Qnsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Ukn	Total		
Peking MR	1		1	1							2						1						1		
Hopoh	1		1		2				1		3										3		3		
Inner Mongolia		1							1		2				1		1					1	2		
Shansi	2		1		1	2					3						1				1	1	2		
TOTAL	4	1	3	1	3	4			2		10	1		1			3				5	2	8		
Tainan MR	2		1		2	1					3			1			2				1		3		
Shantung		1	2		3						3										1	2	1		
TOTAL	2	1	3		5	1					6	1		1			2				2	2	4		
GRAND TOTAL	6	2	6	1	8	5			2		16	2		2			5				7	4	12		

Appendix I

CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT), 1956-1971

By Field Army Affiliation/Military Region Affiliation

Appendix I

1. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS AT THE CENTER

1 9 5 6 - 1 9 5 8												
	Field Army Affiliation										MR	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Insider	Outsider	Ukn	
Party												
Central Committee (Reg.)	8	16	11	8	14	34		91	61	30		
Central Committee (Alt.)	14	20	13	15	12	15		89	19	70		
TOTAL	22	36	24	23	26	49		180	80	100		
State Council												
Premier & V.P.	2	2	1	1	1	4		12	12			
Agriculture			1			4		5	3	2		
Forestry			2	1		1		4	2	2		
Aquatic			1	1		1		3	2	1		
Allocation												
Building Construction			1		1	4		6	6			
Building Material						3		3	3			
Chemical				1	1	2		4	3	1		
Petroleum				2	1	2		5	2	1	2	
Commerce			1	1		3		5	3	2		
Food	2	1	2			1		6	2	4		
Communication					2	2	1	5	3	2		
Culture			3	1		3		8	6	2		
Education		1		1	1	5		8	6	2		
Finance		2		2	2			6	3	3		
Foreign			1			4		5	5			

Appendix I

1 (continued)

1 9 5 6 - 1 9 5 8													
Field Army Affiliation													
MR													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Insider	Outsider	Ukn		
Foreign Trade			1	2	2	4	1	10	8	1	1		
Geology	1	2			1	3		7	4	3			
Higher Education			1	1	2	1		5	4	1			
Internal Affairs	1			1		3		5	5				
Labor	1		1			2		4	2	2			
Light Industry	1			1		2		4	2	2			
Textile	1	1				3		5	4	1			
1st Machine Building		1	1		2			4	1	3			
2nd "				1	1	2		4	2	2			
3rd "		1						1		1			
4-8th "													
Metallurgical		1		1		3		5	5				
Defense	2	2		3		1		8	8				
Post & Telecommunication			1			4		5	5				
Railway				1	2	3		6	4	2			
Public Health	1		2			2		5	2	3			
Public Security		3	1	1	1			6	2	4			
Farm & Land	2				1	1		4	1	3			
Water Conservancy			1	1		3		5	3	2			
Econ.Rel.w/For.Countries													
TOTAL	14	17	22	24	21	76	2	178	123	52	3		

Appendix I
1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	D I S A P P E A R E D											N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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	1	2	3	4	5	6		In- sider	Out- sider		1	2	3	4	5	6		In- sider	Out- sider	Ukn																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
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Appendix I
1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS											
	Field Army Affiliation										Field Army Affiliation											
	Total										Total											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In- sider	MR Out- sider	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In- sider	MR Out- sider	Ukn		
Foreign Trade				2		1	1	4	4						1	1		3	3			
Geology	1	1			1	1		4	2								1	3		4		
Higher Education			1		2	1		4	4						1	2		5	3	2		
Internal	1					2		3	3						1	1	2	4	2	2		
Labor			1			2		3	2	1					1	1		3	3			
Light Industry	1			1		1		3	1	2					2	2	1	1	6	6		
Textile															2	1						
1st Machine Building			1		1			2	1	1						1		8	7	1		
2nd "				1	1	2		4	2	2						1	1	2	2			
3rd "		1						1		1						2	4	6	6			
4-8th "																2		7	5	1		
Metallurgical						1		1	1						3	3		6	4	2		
Defense	1	1		2		1		5	5						1	1	1	5	4	1		
Post & Telecommunications															1	2		3	3			
Railway						1		1	1						1	3		4	4			
Public Health						2		2	2						1	2		4	4			
Public Security		3			1			4	1	3							1	1	1			
Farm & Land															1		1	4	4			
Water Conservancy						1		1	1						1	4	2	8	7	1		
Econ. Rel.w/For. Countries															1			4	3	1		
TOTAL	6	10	10	10	11	33	3	83	61	19		8	14	32	29	22	67	1	173	136	36	

Appendix I
1 (continued) --- 1966-1969

	DISAPPEARED												NEW APPOINTMENTS											
	Field Army Affiliation						MR						Field Army Affiliation						MR					
	Total						Total						Total						Total					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn
Foreign Trade																								
Geology		1			2	1																		
Higher Education		1			1	4																		
Internal	1	1	1	1		1																		
Labor	1		1	1																				
Light Industry			1	1	1	2																		
Textile	1	1	1	1		2																		
1st Machine Building		2	1		1	2																		
2nd "					1																			
3rd "					2	3																		
4-8th "																								
Metallurgical		1		3		3																		
Defense	2				1																			
Post & Telecommunication			1			5																		
Railway				1	3	3																		
Public Health	1	1	3			1																		
Public Security			1	1																				
Farm and Land	3			1	2	2																		
Water Conservancy			1	1	3	3																		
Econ. Rel.w/For. Countries																								
TOTAL	14	14	29	28	29	63		177	154	23					1	1		1	1	1	4	2	1	1

[illegible]

Appendix I

2. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE FIRST FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

2 (Continued) -- 1969-1971

	D I S A P P E A R E D										N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																															
	Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR		Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
	1	2	3	4	5	6		Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	1	2	3	4	5		6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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3. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE SECOND FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

Appendix I
3 (continued) -- 1958-1966

3 (continued) -- 1958-1966																						
DISAPPEARED											NEW APPOINTMENTS											
Field Army Affiliation											Field Army Affiliation											
Total											Total											
In-sider Out-sider Ukn											In-sider Out-sider Ukn											
1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	
Chengt'u MR																						
Tibet: Party																						
Government:																						
	1						1	1			1	8			1	1		11	9	2		
Szechwan: Party																						
Government		1					1	1			4							4	4			
	3						3	3			6							6	6			
TOTAL		5					5	5			6	1	1					8	7	1		
Kunming MR																						
											1	24	1	1	1	1		29	26	3		
Kweichow: Party																						
Government		1					1	1			6				1			7	5	2		
		1					1	1			4				1			5	3	2		
Yunnan: Party																						
Government		1					1	1			6							6	5	1		
TOTAL		4					4	4			7				2			7	6	1		
Wuhan MR											23							25	19	6		
Honan: Party																						
Government		1					1	1			6							6	6			
	3						3	3			3			1				4	3	1		
Hupeh: Party																						
Government		2					2	2			2			1				3	2	1		
TOTAL		6									5			1		1		7	6	1		
GRAND TOTAL		15					15	15			16			3		1		20	17	3		
											1	63	1	4	3	2		74	62	12		

Appendix I
3 (continued) -- 1969-1971

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS									
	Field Army Affiliation						MR				Field Army Affiliation						MR			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn
Chengt'u MR																				
Tibet: Party												4		2			7	6		1
Government				2			2	2				3					3	3		
Szechwan: Party												3		3	2		8	5	3	
Government				1			1	1												
TOTAL				3			3	3				10		5	2	1	18	14	3	1
Kunming MR																				
Kweichow: Party												1		2		1	4	1	2	1
Government	1						2	1		2				1			3		2	1
Yunnan: Party												2	1				3	2	1	
Government													1				1		1	
TOTAL	1						2	3	1	2		3	2	3		2	11	3	6	2
Wuhan MR																				
Honan: Party											1	1			1		3	3		
Government																				
Hupeh: Party												4		2			6	4	2	
Government												3		1			4	2	1	1
TOTAL											1	8		3	1		13	9	3	1
GRAND TOTAL	1		3			2	6	4		2	1	21	2	11	1	4	42	26	12	4

Appendix I

4. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE THIRD FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

1956 - 1958												
Field Army Affiliation												MR
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Insider	Outsider	Ukn	
Fuchou MR												
Fukien: P			5					5	5			
G			9					9	9			
Kiangsi: P	1		3					4	4			
G			4	2	1		1	8	4	3	1	
TOTAL	1		21	2	1		1	26	22	3	1	
Nanking MR												
Anhwei: P			4					4	4			
G			8					8	8			
Chekiang: P			2					2	2			
G			4				3	7	4		3	
Kiangsu: P			5	1				6	5	1		
G			10					10	10			
Shanghai: P			5					5	5			
G			12					12	12			
TOTAL			50	1			3	54	50	1	3	
GRAND TOTAL	1		71	3	1		4	80	72	4	4	

4 (Continued) 1950-1960

	D I S A P P E A R E D										N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S														
	Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR		Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR								
	1	2	3	4	5	6		Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	1	2	3	4	5		6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider					
Fuchou MR																									
Fukien: P																									
G			1					1	1										8	8					
Kiangsi: P			1					1	1										3	3					
G			1					1	1										4	4					
TOTAL			3					3	3							1			6	6					
																1			21	21					
Nanking MR																									
Anhui: P			1					1	1										6	6					
G			2					2	2										6	5					
Chekliang: P																1			5	1					
G																5	2		7	5					
Kiangsu: P			3					3	3							4	2	1	7	4					
G																4			5	4					
Shanghai: P			2					2	2							4	1		5	4					
G			1					1	1							5		1	6	6					
TOTAL			4					4	4							4			4	4					
GRAND TOTAL			13					16	13							1	36	5	2	1	1	46	33	6	2
			16					3	19	16						1	55	5	2	2	1	67	59	6	2

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Appendix I

1956 - 1958											
Field Army Affiliation										MR	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	Total	Insider	Outsider	Ukn
Canton MR											
Hunan: P				3				3	3		
G				7				7	7		
Kwangsi: P			1	1				2	1	1	
G			2	4				6	5	1	
Kwangtung: P				4				4	4		
G			1	5				6	5		1
TOTAL			4	24				28	25	2	1
Shenyang MR											
Heilungkiang: P		1		4				5	5		
G				7				7	7		
Kirin: P	1			1	1			3	1	2	
G				8				8	7	1	
Liaoning: P		1		2				3	3		
G				10				10	10		
TOTAL	1	2		32	1			36	33	3	
GRAND TOTAL	1	2	4	56	1			64	58	5	1

Appendix I
5 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	D I S A P P E A R E D										N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S										
	Field Army Affiliation						Total				Field Army Affiliation						Total				
	1 2 3 4 5 6						In- sider				1 2 3 4 5 6						In- sider				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn
Canton MR																					
Hunan: P																					
G																					
Kwangsi: P				2																	
G																					
Kwangtung: P																					
G				1																	
TOTAL																					
Shenyang MR																					
Heilungkiang: P																					
G																					
Kirin: P																					
G																					
Liaoning: P																					
G																					
TOTAL																					
GRAND TOTAL																					

	D I S A P P E A R E D										N E W A P P O I N T M E N T S									
	Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR		Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR			
	1 2 3 4 5 6						Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	1 2 3 4 5 6						Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider		
Canton MR																				
Hunan: P													3				3	3		
G													1			1	2	2		
Kwangsi: P			3					3				1	2				3	2	1	
G				1				1				1	1				2	1	1	
Kwangtung: P													5				5	5		
G				2			2	4	1							1	1		1	
TOTAL				6			2	8	5		2	12				2	16	13	2	1
Shenyang MR																				
Heilungkiang: P													2	2	1		5	5		
G			1					1	1			2	3			5	10	4	6	
Kirin: P																	6	5	1	
G													1	1		11	13	1	11	
Liaoning: P													2	2			4	4		
G																	1	1		
TOTAL				1			2	3	1		2	5	14	1		17	39	20	1	18
GRAND TOTAL				7			4	11	6							19	55	33	3	19

Appendix I

6. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE FIFTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS										
	Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR		Field Army Affiliation						Total	MR				
	1	2	3	4	5	6		Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	1	2	3	4		5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider
Peking MR																					
Hopeh: P														1							
G					6			6													
Inner Mongolia: P	1							1	1			2									
G					1			1	1			2									
Shansi: P					1		1	2	1		1	2									
G					3			3	3												
Peking: P														1							
G					3			3	3					1							
TOTAL	1				14		1	16	15		1	4	5	2	2	32	6		51	49	2
Tsinan MR																					
Shantung: P					1			1				1	1			2	2		6	6	
G					2			2	2			1	1			3	2		7	7	
TOTAL					3			3	2			2	2			5	4		13	13	
GRAND TOTAL	1				17		1	19	17		1	6	7	2	2	37	10		64	62	2

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS									
	Field Army Affiliation										Field Army Affiliation									
	Total										Total									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ukn	In-sider	Out-sider	Ukn
Peking MR																				
Hopeh: P		1		1	7			9	8	1										
G		1	2		7	1		11	9	2		2			4		1	7	6	1
Inner Mongolia: P	3				3	1	1	8	8											
G	5				2	2	2	11	11				1	2			2	5	5	
Shanai: P		2			7			9	9											
G					8	1		9	9				1		6		3	10	6	1
Peking P					10			10	10											
G		1			9			10	10			2			2	1		5	4	1
TOTAL	8	5	2	1	53	5	3	77	74	3		4	2		14	1	6	27	21	2
Tainan MR																				
Shantung: P	1		3		2	2		8	6	2										
G	1	1			7	2		11	11				3		5	1	3	12	6	2
TOTAL	2	1	3		9	4		19	17	2			3		5	1	3	12	6	2
GRAND TOTAL	10	6	5	1	62	9	3	96	91	5		4	5		19	2	9	39	27	4

[illegible]

Appendix J

CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS (PARTY AND GOVERNMENT), 1956-1971

By Generation/Civilian/Commander/Commissar

Appendix J

1. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS AT THE CENTER

1956 - 1958														
	F u n c t i o n s				G e n e r a t i o n s									Total
	Civil	Cmdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	Ukn	
Party														
CC (Reg.)	57	17	12	5	82	3		1					5	91
CC (Alt.)	61	11	8	9	55	14	7	1					12	89
TOTAL	118	28	20	14	137	17	7	2					17	180
State Council														
Premier & VP	3	4	3	2	12									12
Agriculture	5				1	1				1			2	5
Forest	4									2			2	4
Aquatic	3				1					1				3
Allocation														
Bld. Const.	6				1								5	6
Bld. Mat.	3						1						2	3
Chemical	4						1						3	4
Petroleum	4		1		1					1			3	5
Commerce	5				1	1	1						2	5
Food	6				1		2						3	6
Communication	4	1			2	1							2	5
Culture	8				2	1		1					4	8
Education	8							1					7	8
Finance	5		1		1		2						3	6
Foreign	5				4		1							5

1 (continued)

1956 - 1958																
	F u n c t i o n s				G e n e r a t i o n s										Total	
	Civil	Cmdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	Ukn			
Foreign Trade	10				1	2				1			6	10		
Geology	6				1		1	1		1			3	7		
H. Ed.	5				1			1		1			2	5		
Internal Aff.	4			1	3							1	1	5		
Labor	4				3		1							4		
Light Ind.	4				1					1			2	4		
Textile	5					1				1			3	5		
1st M.B.	4						1	1					2	4		
2nd M.B.	3	1			1								3	4		
3rd M.B.				1	1									1		
4th-8th M.B.																
Metallurgical	5				1								4	5		
Defense		5	1	2	8									8		
Post & Tel.	5									1			4	5		
Rail	4	1	1		1			1					4	6		
Public Health	2	2		1	1	1					1		2	5		
Public Sec.		4		2	2	4								6		
Farm & Land	2		2		1			1					2	4		
Water Con.	5						1			2			2	5		
E.F.C.																
TOTAL	141	18	9	9	53	12	12	7		13		2	78	178		

Appendix J
1 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS																
	Functions					Generations					Total	Functions					Generations					Total					
	Civ	Cdr	80th	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	80th	Cmsr	1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8
Finance	3						2						1	3	2											2	2
Foreign Aff.	2				2									2	8				3	1	1	1				2	8
Foreign Trade	4					1					1		2	4	3						2					1	3
Geology	4				1		1						2	4	4											4	4
H. Ed.	4				1			1						4	5											5	5
Internal	2			1	3									3	3			1	1	1						2	4
Labor	3				3									3	3											3	3
Light Ind.	3				1								2	3	6						1					5	6
Textile															4											4	4
1st M.B.	2						1	1						2	8							2				6	8
2nd M.B.	3		1		1								3	4	2											2	2
3rd M.B.				1	1									1	5			1	1		1					4	6
4th-8th M.B.															4	1	1	1	1	2						4	7
Metallurgical	1				1									1	5			1			1					5	6
Defense		3	1	1	5									5		5			5								5
Post & Tel.															3											3	3
Rail			1		1									1	4											4	4
Public Health	2											1		2	2	2			1							3	4
Public Sec.		3			1	2	2							4				1		1							1
Farm & Land															1	1	1	1	3							1	4

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix J

2. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE FIRST FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

1956 - 1958														
	F u n c t i o n s				G e n e r a t i o n s									Total
	Civil	Cmdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	Ukn	
Lanchow MR														
Kansu: P				1	1								3	4
G		1											7	7
Ninghsia: P														
G														
Shensi: P	2			1		1							2	3
G		1							1				4	5
Tsinghai: P	3												3	3
G	6												6	6
TOTAL	11	2		2	1	1			1				25	28
Sinkiang MR														
Sinkiang: P	2		1	1		1	1						2	4
G	3			1			1						3	4
TOTAL	5		1	2		1	2						5	8
GRAND TOTAL	16	2	1	4	1	2	2		1				30	36

Appendix J
2 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED													NEW APPOINTMENTS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	Functions				Generations								Total	Functions				Generations								Total																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8	Ukn																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
Lanchow MR																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														

Appendix J
2 (continued) — 1966-1969

2 (continued) - 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS																						
Functions					Generations									Total					Functions					Generations									Total				
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Total	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Total									
Lanchow MR																																					
Kansu: P	13				3	1							10	14																							
G	7	1					1						6	7					1	1	1																
Ninghsia: P	6												6	6																							
G	6												6	6																							
Shensi: P	8	1			1			1					7	9					1		2																
G	7												7	7																							
Tsinghai: P	10				1								9	10																							
G	7												7	7																							
TOTAL	64	1	1		5	2		1					58	66	21	7	1	5	1	3	6					9	11										
Sinkiang MR																																					
Sinkiang: P	6			1			1						6	7																							
G	4						1						3	4																							
TOTAL	10			1			2						9	11	3	1	1	1		1	1					4	6										
GRAND TOTAL	74	1	1	1	5	2	2	1					67	77	24	8	2	6	1	3	7	1				23	43										

Appendix J
2 (continued) -- 1969-1971

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Functions					Generations								Total	Functions					Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Omsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Omsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	
Lanchow MR																													
Kansu: P																1		1		2									2
G 5													5	5		1				1	1								2
Ninghsia: P																3	2	1			3								
G													3	3															3
Shensi: P																2		1		2	1							1	4
G																												1	1
Tsinghai: P																3	1	1	1	2	1						3	6	
G													5	5													1	1	
TOTAL	5												13	13		7	7	1	4	7	6						9	22	
Sinkiang MR																													
Sinkiang: P																2	1	1	1	2							1	4	
G 1													1	1		1	2	4	2	4						1	7		
TOTAL	1												1	1		3	3	5	3	6						2	11		
GRAND TOTAL	6												14	14		10	10	1	9	3	7	12				11	33		

Appendix J

3. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE SECOND FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

1956 - 1958															
		F u n c t i o n s				G e n e r a t i o n s									Total
		Civil	Cmdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	Ukn	
Chengtū MR															
Tibet:	P			1	1	1	1								2
	G	1		1			1				1				2
Szechwan:	P	2			2			1						3	4
	G	4			1	2	1							2	5
TOTAL		7		2	4	3	3	1			1			5	13
Kunming MR															
Kweichou:	P	2												2	2
	G	5												5	5
Yunnan:	P	2			1									3	3
	G	4			1	1								4	5
TOTAL		13			2	1								14	15
Wuhan MR															
Honan:	P	3												3	3
	G	8												8	8
Hupeh:	P	5			1	2	1							3	6
	G	6			1		1				2			4	7
TOTAL		22			2	2	2				2			18	24
GRAND TOTAL		42		2	8	6	5	1			3			37	52

Appendix J
3 (continued) -- 1958-1966

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Functions					Generations								Total	Functions					Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Casr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Casr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		
Chengtū MR																													
Tibet: P															10			1	1								10		
G 1										1				1	3	1											4		
Szechwan: P			1										1	1	6												6		
G 2			1	1	1								1	3			1		1		1						6		
TOTAL	3		2	1	1				1				2	5	19	1	1	1	2		1						26		
Kunming MR																													
Kweichow: P 1													1	1	7						1						6		
G 1													1	1	5						1						4		
Yunnan: P			1										1	1	4			2	3								3		
G			1										1	1	6			1	1								6		
TOTAL	2		2										4	4	22			3	4		2						19		
Wuhan MR																													
Honan: P 1													1	1				1			1						1		
G 3													3	3	4				1								3		
Hupeh: P 2				1									1	2	3												3		
G															6								1				6		
TOTAL	6			1									5	6	13			1	1		1						1		
GRAND TOTAL	11		4	2	1				1				11	15	54	1	1	5	7		4			1		1	61		

Appendix J
3 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS																						
Functions					Generations									Total					Functions					Generations									Total				
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn										
Chengtu MR																																					
Tibet: P	11		1		1								11	12																							
G	3	1											4	4	5	2	1	2			5					1	3	9									
Szechwan: P	8		1				1						8	9																							
G		1			1								7	9	9	1	1	2	1	1																	
TOTAL	22	1	1	2	2		2						30	34	14	3	2	4	1	1	5	1			1	1	12	22									
Kunming MR																																					
Kweichou: P	7												7	7																							
G	8												8	8	6	1		1			4						4	8									
Yunnan: P	9		2	3									8	11																							
G	8												8	8	6	2			1	2							5	8									
TOTAL	32		2	3									31	34	12	3		1	1	2	4					9	16										
Wuhan MR																																					
Honan: P	6			1									5	6																							
G	9			1									8	9	2	1		3	1		4				1			6									
Hupeh: P	6			1									5	6																							
G	13												10	13	4	2	1	2	1	2																	
TOTAL	34				3								28	34	6	3	1	5	1	3	4				1		6	15									
GRAND TOTAL	88	1	1	4	8		2						89	102	32	9	3	10	3	6	13	1			1	1	27	53									

Appendix J
3 (continued) -- 1969-1971

	DISAPPEARED										NEW APPOINTMENTS																			
	Functions					Generations					Total	Functions					Generations					Total								
	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	I	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3		4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		
Chengt'u MR																														
Tibet: P															4	2			1			3	1					1	2	7
G															3													3	3	
Szechwan: P															2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2		1					8	
G																														
TOTAL															3	9	4	1	3	2	1	5	3		1		1	5	18	
Kunming MR																														
Kweichow: P															1	2		1			4								4	
G															1			2									1	3		
Yunnan: P																3				3									3	
G																1				1									1	
TOTAL															2	3	2	6	3		6	4				1	11			
Wuhan MR																														
Honan: P															1	1		1		1	2								3	
G																														
Hupeh: P															1	2	1	2	1	2	3								6	
G															2			2		1	2						1	4		
TOTAL															4	3	1	5	1	4	7						1	13		
GRAND TOTAL	2	1	1	2			3	1					2	6	15	13	2	11	3	11	16	3		1		1	7	42		

1956 - 1958

1956 - 1958														
	F u n c t i o n s				G e n e r a t i o n s									Total
	Civil	Cmdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	Ukn	
Fuchou MR														
Fukien: P	4		1		1	2							2	5
G	8		1		1	2				3			3	9
Kiangsi: P	3			1	3								1	4
G	8				2	1							5	8
TOTAL	23		2	1	7	5				3			11	26
Nanking MR														
Anhwei: P	3			1	1	1							2	4
G	7		1			1	1						6	8
Chekiang: P	2												2	2
G	7												7	7
Kiangsu: P	3	1		2	2		1						3	6
G	8	1		1	1					1			8	10
Shanghai: P	4			1	2	1	1						1	5
G	10	1		1	1	1							10	12
TOTAL	44	3	1	6	7	4	3			1			39	54
GRAND TOTAL	67	3	3	7	14	9	3			4			50	80

Appendix J
4 (continued) -- 1958-1966

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Functions					Generations								Total	Functions					Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn				
Fuchou MR																													
Fukien: P													8				1					1			6				
G		1		1								1	3				1								2				
Kiangsi: P	1			1								1	4				1								3				
G	1			1								1	6												6				
TOTAL	2	1		3								3	21				3					1			17				
Nanking MR																													
Anhui: P			1	1								1	6				1								5				
G	2											2	6												6				
Chekiang: P													6		1		1								6				
G	6											6	6		1		1					1			5				
Kiangsu: P													5												5				
G	1	1										2	4												5				
Shanghai: P	1			1									5				1			1					5				
G	3	1		1								3	4												4				
TOTAL	13	2		3								13	16	42		2	1	3		1		1			41				
GRAND TOTAL	15	2	1	1	6							13	19	63		2	1	6		1		2			58				

Appendix J
4 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Functions					Generations									Functions					Generations									Total	
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Total	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Total	
Fuchou MR																													
Fukien: P 12		1			2	2				1			8	13															
G 11					1	2				3			5	11		11	3		1	2	3	1		1		7	14		
Kiangsi: P 6			1	3									4	7															
G 11						1							10	11		3	1	1				2				3	5		
TOTAL	40		1	1	6	5				4			27	42		14	4	2	2	3	3		1			10	19		
Nanking MR																													
Anhui: P 9					1								8	9															
G 9						1	1						6	9		5	2	1			4					4	8		
Chekiang: P 8		1		1						1			7	9															
G 7		1		1									6	7		3	1	2			1	2				3	7		
Kiangsu: P 8		1		2	2		1						8	11															
G 9			1	1						1			8	10		1	2	2	1		1	2				1	5		
Shanghai: P 7			2	1	1	1	1	1					5	9															
G 9													10	10		1		1				1					2		
TOTAL	66	1	2	6	7	2	3	1		3			58	74		10	5	6	1		6	5		1	1	8	22		
GRAND TOTAL	106	1	3	7	13	7	3	1		7			85	116		24	9	8	3	3	9	5		2	1	18	41		

DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS													
Functions				Generations								Total	Functions				Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	
Fuchou MR																											
Fukien: P														2	3		2	2	1	2						2	7
G 1												1	1														
Kiangsi: P														1	1		2			3	1						4
G 1												1	1	8			1			1					7	9	
TOTAL	2										2	2		11	4		5	2	1	6	2				9	20	
Nanking MR																											
Anhui: P														2	1		2			3						2	5
G																									3	3	
Chekiang: P														2	2		2			3	2				1	6	
G 2												2	2	1	1				1						1	2	
Kiangsu: P														1	1		3	2		1	2					5	
G														5											6	6	
Shanghai: P														5	1		1			2	1			1	3	7	
G														10	2		1		1	2	1		1		3	13	
TOTAL	2										2	2		26	8		9	2	1	12	6		1	1	6	18	47
GRAND TOTAL	4										4	4		37	12		14	4	2	18	6	2	1	1	6	27	67

5. CHANGES IN CIVILIAN LEADERS IN THE FOURTH FIELD ARMY BASE AREA

[illegible]

Appendix J
5 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS														
Functions					Generations								Total	Functions					Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		
Canton MR																													
Hunan: P	7		1	3									8	11															
G 7									1				6	7				1			2					3	5		
Kwangsi: P			1	1	1								4	5															
G 7		1									1		7	8		8	1	3		1	1	1					9		
Kwangtung: P	9			2			1						6	9															
G		2		1									14	15		9	2	1	2	2	3	2	1		9th 1	5	14		
TOTAL	30	2	2	2	6	1	1			1	1		45	55		17	3	1	6	2	4	5	2		9th 1	17	31		
Shenyang MR																													
Heilungkiang:																													
P 8						1							7	8															
G 9						1							8	9		1	1		1	1							2		
Kirin: P 7			1		2		1	1					4	8															
G 10							1						9	10		3	1	1		2	1					2	5		
Liaoning: P 10				2									9	11															
G 13				1									13	14		11	2	2		1	2				2	10	15		
TOTAL 57			2	1	3	4	1	1	1				50	60		15	4	3	1	2	4	1			2	12	22		
GRAND TOTAL 87		2	4	3	9	5	2	1	1	1	1		95	115		32	7	1	9	3	6	9	3		9th 2	29	53		

Appendix J
(continued) -- 1969-1971

DISAPPEARED															NEW APPOINTMENTS												
Functions				Generations								Total	Functions				Generations								Total		
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		
Canton MR																											
Hunan: P													1	1		1			3								
G 3												3	3	1	1				1						1		
Kwangsi: P																1	1		2		1						
G 1												1	1			1	1		2								
Kwangtung: P														2	1		2	2	1	2							
G 4											9th 1	3	4												1		
TOTAL	8										9th 1	7	8	4	3	2	5	2	1	10		1			2		
Shenyang MR																											
Heilungkiang:																											
P														2	1		2		1	3	1						
G 1													1	7	1		2		1	2					7		
Kirin: P														3	2		1		2	1					3		
G														11	1										13		
Liaoning: P															3		1		2	1					1		
G 2												2	2	1											1		
TOTAL	3											2	3	24	8		6		3	7	4				1		
GRAND T-TAL	11										9th 1	9	11	28	11	2	11	2	4	17	4	1			1	26	
																									55		

1956 - 1958

[illegible]

Appendix J
6 (continued) -- 1958-1966

	DISAPPEARED													NEW APPOINTMENTS																
	Functions				Generations									Total	Functions				Generations									Total		
	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn			
Peking MR																														
Hopeh: P															7				2										5	7
G	3			1	1			1					4	6	10				2									7	10	
Inner M.: P	1			1										1	4			1										5	5	
G	1												1	1	5													5	5	
Shansi: P	2												2	2	8													8	8	
G	3				1								2	3	3		1		1									3	4	
Peking: P															7				1									6	7	
Q	2		1			2							1	3	5													5	5	
TOTAL	12		1	1	3	2		1					10	16	49		1	1	1	5		1						44	51	
Teinan MR																														
Shantung: P	1				1									1	6				1	2								3	6	
G	2												2	2	7					1								6	7	
TOTAL	3				1								2	3	13				1	3								9	13	
GRAND TOTAL	15		1	1	4	2		1					12	19	62		1	1	2	5	3	1						53	64	

Appendix J
6 (continued) -- 1966-1969

DISAPPEARED													NEW APPOINTMENTS																						
Punctions					Generations								Total					Functions					Generations								Total				
Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn									
Peking MR																																			
Hopeh: P	9				1	2							6	9																					
G 11						2		1					8	11			1	1	2	2						2									
Inner M.: P	6				1	3							5	8												7									
G 9					1	2				1			8	11			1	1	1	1						3									
Shansi: P	9												9	9												5									
G 9													9	9			1	2	2	2					1	5									
Peking: P	10				2	2							6	10																					
G 10					1	1							8	10			1	4								1									
TOTAL	73		2	2	9	7		1		1			59	77	15	5	3	4	1	9	5				1	11									
Tsinan MR																																			
Shantung: P	6				2	1	1	2					4	8																					
G 11								1					10	11			3	1	3	3						5									
TOTAL	17				2	1	1	3					14	19			3	1	3	3						5									
GRAND TOTAL																																			
	90		2	4	10	8	3	1		1			73	96	20	9	3	7	2	12	8				1	16									

Appendix J
6 (continued) -- 1969-1971

	DISAPPEARED														NEW APPOINTMENTS													
	Functions				Generations								Total	Functions				Generations								Total		
	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn	Civ	Cdr	Both	Cmsr	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Ukn		
Peking MR																												
Hopeh: P														3	4				2	2	1			1	1		7	
G				1	1								1	3	1						1			1	1	1	4	
Inner M.: P														2	1	1	1			3			1	1			5	
G	1	1											2	2								1	1				2	
Shansi: P														1		1	2			3				1			4	
G	5		1			2							4	4			1			1						4	5	
Peking: P														2	2	1	2		3	2	1						7	
G		1				1								1	1		1		1	1	1						3	
TOTAL	6	2	1	1	1	3							6	10	18	9	3	7		6	12	4		2	4	3	6	37
Tsinan MR																												
Shantung: P														2	2		1	1	1	1	1					1	5	
G	2	1		3		2	2						2	6	2	1		1		1		1				2	4	
TOTAL	2	1		3		2	2						2	6	4	3		2	1	2	1	2				3	9	
GRAND TOTAL	8	3	1	4	1	5	2						8	16	22	12	3	9	1	8	13	6		2	4	3	9	46